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Mores catholici

Mores Catholici;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

[Kenelm H. Digby.]

BOOK IX.



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MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE NINTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

Now we have turned to the seventh circle of beatitude our ascending step,—though had we not assurance that still two lines were to be passed, we might suppose that all had been already seen. We are, in truth, so near the sum of blessedness, that separate lights are swallowed up in the universal radiance. Encompassed with a perfumed air of such sweet intensity, we shall not easily be able to distinguish the fragrance of any fresh flowers of the divine garden. As a man, who has travelled over much of the earth, considers how he has been in this place and in that, and ponders many things, so we, having in our memory the children of grace who inherited the first six promises from the mountain, may feel it almost superfluous now to ask where are those to whom were made the seventh, or that which is the complement of all. We have already seen them. If, indeed, we sought to imitate the style of geometricians, we might consent to this suggestion and conclude our history here; for in their lessons they take for granted whatever has been taught before, and proceed to explain only that on which they have not already written. But we would follow rather that of the philosophers, who, as one of their own number says, accept whatever comes to their hand, and heap all things together, even such as had been discussed in another place. To those who ask now, were the middle

ages remarkable for having produced a multitude of pacific men? it would be a sufficient reply if we referred them to the former books, in which they have seen that men in those ages possessed in rich abundance the first six of these graces; for this being proved, it is a necessary consequence that they were indeed the sons of peace. Clearly there must have been much peace to the poor in spirit and the meek; for if, as we have shown, the latter verified the promise, "*Omnis locus quem calcaverit pes, vester erit* *," they were, as St. Bernardine of Sienna distinguishes, "pacifically constituted the lords of the world." As clearly there must have been peace to the blessed mourners who found it in their detachment from the world and in their tears; to those also who so loved the divine law as to thirst after its universal reign; to those, again, whom mercy and love necessarily rendered peace-makers; and finally to those who had obtained that wisdom from above which St. James describes as being first pacific, and which St. Augustin ascribes to the pacific, in whom all things are ordered, and no motion rebels against reason, but all things obey the spirit of man as he obeys God, whom to see is to see peace.

Nevertheless, we will not content ourselves with such an answer; but to illustrate from history the two sentences which yet remain, we shall devote separate books; and if our wish may be fulfilled, although we have thus seen before that men in ages of faith were eminently the lovers of divine peace, and the blessed sufferers for sake of justice, we shall still adduce historic proof for each of these propositions separately.

Not without a mystery, according to the gloss adduced by St. Bernardine of Sienna, is the beatitude of peace ranked in the seventh degree; for in the sabbath of true rest will be given true peace. And St. Ambrose shows how justly it follows the beatitude of the clean of heart; since it is only when the interior has been purified that men can begin to enjoy that peace which they can then impart to others. The order of history after the sermon of our Lord upon the mount will not be found to exclude direct evidence in proof of the love and possession of divine peace. The wise, the great, the unforgotten,—those who wore mitres, and helms, and crowns,—were

* Deut. xi.

all encompassed with it. What others gained who with no less purity walked in the way of God unnoticed, may be learned from him who prophesied of old that such should dwell in peace upon the earth* ; so that in fact it is the historian who has profoundly studied the character of the ages of faith, who is of all men the best qualified to explain the true nature of this divine state, and to appreciate its felicity. He best can tell how sweet to the generations of men is peace ; he best can show how to cultivate, preserve, and impart tranquillity ; so that when referring men to the thoughts and manners of Catholic ages, his counsel may be expressed in the words of that spirit which cried to Dante and his guide,

“ ———If ye desire to mount,
Here must ye turn : this way he goes,
Who goes in quest of peace †.”

To men, however, who are wholly ignorant of that history, and who judge only from the reports that pass current wherever the voice of modern sophists has prevailed, there will seem to interpose an objection of immense difficulty ; for they are persuaded that the history of the middle ages contains nothing but the spectacle of social chaos, an uninterrupted course of wars, and violence and confusion. The historians, like the poets of our days, sing the misery of man, and, like the fallen angels in Milton's hell, lament the destiny which is to them unknown ; but, like them also, “ their song is partial.” Nevertheless, however we may be convinced that their view in this respect is mistaken, we cannot be dispensed from seeking to prove that it is so ; and, therefore, from this elevation where we stand, our steps must lead us back awhile to regions of sin and darkness, and to those scenes of horror which modern writers love to unfold.

That wars and violence should have been found in ages of faith is an observation which affords no ground for combatting the truth that is to be illustrated in this book respecting the multitude of those who inherited the blessing pronounced upon the pacific by our Divine Saviour. Under the religion of Him who said He came “ not to send peace upon earth but a sword,” and who

* Baruch iii.

† Purg xxiv.

never promised to secure the interests of the world and of material prosperity, the reign of temporal order can never be considered as an accurate criterion to estimate the degree of approximation of ages to the true end of man. The peace which He offered was, as we shall see presently, something different from this temporal external order which many enthusiasts, in various ages of the Church, proposed to establish. During the ages of faith all who heard the Church were perfectly aware that in the present condition of men there must be wars and disorders to punish, correct, and try the human race. If in the Church of God, for which Christ died, there must be heresies, what Christian could be scandalized at finding horrors affecting the material order in the world, for which Christ did not pray? St. Theresa was told by a spiritual man that he was not surprised at the evil which is committed by men in the state of mortal sin, but that he could not sufficiently wonder that they did not cause much greater*. Intervals of order, breathings, as it were, would occur, but nothing more. "We shall rest during a certain number of days, but on the next we shall fight again;" and in saying this to Achilles Priam relates the history of the world. What Tacitus says on the death of Vitellius might be its motto: "Rather war ceased than peace began†." "Dum paci dat tempus hiems" was all that Cæsar promised‡; and, in fact it was not a singular epoch when men might reckon summers, like Thucydides, by wars. It is a fond desire, therefore, of the poet to find a lodge in some vast wilderness where rumour of unsuccessful or successful war may never reach him more. Pindar, indeed, had said of the sacred race of the Hyperboreans, that they lived apart from toil and battles, undisturbed by the revengeful Nemesis§. But, however heroes and their feats fatigued the former, he was forced to see that in every heart are sown the sparks that kindle fiery war. "Is it a thing possible that this world should be at peace?" asks the author of the Tree of Battles, and he answers, "Truly, it is not. Nature herself," he continues in his quaint but forcible style, "by difference of complexions causes war. Let there be two seigneurs in a country, one is of one

* Castle of the Soul, chap. i.

† Lucan ii.

‡ Hist. iv.

§ Pyth. x. 56.

complexion, the other of another. One loves justice, the other simony; one loves merchants, the other men of arms and pillage. One inclines to peace, the other to war; one sides by the King of France, the other by the King of England. Then, supposing them in an hotel together, one likes to eat early, the other late; one to speak too much, the other to listen; one likes white wine, the other red; and thus in consequence of the complexion of human bodies scarcely can there be accordance in this world. God, indeed, can make peace every where; for he can make all men good and wise, and for such men it will not be impossible to remain at peace; for the wise man is lord of his stars, and if by carnal inclinations he should be bent to war, by the virtue of wisdom he can surmount the inclination of the flesh; but the number of the unwise is great, and therefore war must follow*." Nor is overmuch importance attached to trifles in this curious passage. Sparta sent out a great armament against Polycrates of Samos, in order, as Herodotus says, to revenge the plunder of a cauldron and a breast-plate. "Here bread makes peace for you," says St. Augustin. "Take away bread, and see what a war will be within you†." The mere interview between worldly chiefs has produced great disorders. Such was the consequence of that between Don Fernando IV. of Castile, and Denis of Portugal, his father-in-law; and of that between Philip I. and Don Fernando. Between Hector and Achilles there was mortal anger which nothing but death could appease, on account of no other cause, if you can believe the poet, but that the highest virtue was in both‡. Strange virtue as it would have been deemed in ages of faith, but perhaps consistent with all that fallen nature yields: the most amiable of ancient poets ascribes to youth in happiest times, as a matter of indifference, the occupation of either cultivating the soil or of shaking towns with war§. The schoolmen see the necessity of the evil from estimating the confusion within the human heart. "What a perturbation of internal peace!" exclaims Richard of St. Victor; "thoughts contradict thoughts, and affections resist affections; and contrary emotions meet. Nation rises

* L'Arbre des Batailles.

† In Psalm xxxiii.

‡ Hor. Sat. i. 7.

§ Æn. ix. 606.

against nation; the evil are divided against themselves, and the Lord makes the Egyptians contend against Egyptians. Nay, what is still more strange, the good sometimes rise against the good, and a man fights against his brother and against his friend; and each one would devour the flesh of his own arm. From weakness of the head and will, the good often rise against the good, and the kingdom of Israel is divided into two parts, and they contend with each other in many battles and seditions; and never in any state during this life can there be found a firm peace or a perfect rest*.” “Yes,” exclaims Petrarch, “such is the lot of all that are born, to be ever exposed to battle either against foreign or domestic foes. Our first and last hope must be Christ†.” “Genoa would be a happy city,” says its historian, “if it could be proclaimed to be without conflicts against foreign enemies; but no such state can exist for the reason that no mortal can be supremely happy‡,” or as Spenser says, “that blisse may not abide in state of mortall men.” St. Avitus replies to Aurelien, who had congratulated him on some interval of rest amidst the invasion and domination of the Burgundians, “Yes, doubtless it is a manifest sign of prosperity, however fugitive and weak, to be able to receive news from one’s friends; but this diluvian tempest of events and disasters which you describe can never wholly cease from agitating human things so long as we sail on the ocean of the world. If, then, we are allowed a moment for breath in these calamities, we must perceive it is a suspension, but not a termination, of our dangers—a little gleam of light, less to dissipate than to reveal our miseries, in order that our souls may be the more tempered to suffering. Cease, then, to regard these evils as finished; and let not prosperity elevate or adversity depress you, and hope for no port till you arrive at the world where tranquillity will reign for ever§.” Even when there is not war either between nations or between kings, between kings and people or monarchies and republics, still to vex man’s peaceful state there must be battle between the two forms of the human intelligence, between faith and rebellious

* De Statu interioris Hominis, l. i. c. 17. 19.

† Epist. x. 12.

‡ Stellæ Annales Genuenses, lib. i. c. 6.

§ Epist. xxxiv.

reason, those two distinct powers having each their chiefs, their assemblies, their pulpits, and mysteries; for with the world began a war which will finish with the world, and not before—that between faith or the catholic power, and negation or the rationalist power serving a rebellious will, the one descending from God through the patriarchs and the Jews to Christ, the other from the demon through all those who have imitated his pride. History is nothing else but the narrative of this interminable struggle. “*Impiorum omnium caput Diabolus est*,” says St. Gregory. So the author of the *Tree of Battles* asks, “Where was the first battle?” and answers, “in heaven, when an angel rebelled against the sovereign Lord God; and truly it is no great marvel that in this lower world there should be many great and marvellous wars and battles*.” This great battle was not fought, however, with material arms. “It was,” says Bossuet, “a conflict of thoughts and of sentiments. The angel of pride said, Let us do our own will like God; and Michael asked on the contrary, Who is like God? whence is his name.” The war in heaven was soon finished, but it broke out afresh within the human heart, where the demons hoped to re-establish their former empire. When there were only four persons in the world, one of them slew his brother. The conclusion which the philosopher comes to, had been drawn by St. Augustin, “the first founder of the earthly state was a fratricide, and it is not strange,” he adds, “that its history should correspond with that archetype†.” But we need not leave the middle ages to find profound views on this subject. Vincent de Beauvais says, “In Cain began the malice of the reprobate—in Abel the patience of the saints. Cain built an earthly city, and congregated wealth by rapine and violence, and invited his friends to robbery, and fearing those whom he injured, on account of security, collected them in cities; and Cain is born before just Abel, to show that in Adam the whole human race is corrupted in mass, and that when any one from that mould is made a vessel of honour, this proceeds not from nature, but from the mercy of God, calling: the studies of the sons of Cain,” he adds,

* *L'Arbre des Batailles*, c. 11. † *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 5.

“manifest to what state they belong*.” In fact, as Frederic Schlegel remarks, “his descendants are distinguished in all the original records and traditions of mankind by a skill in the mechanical arts, in working of metals, by a turbulent and warlike spirit, producing at last the race of giants. On the other hand, the family of Seth are traced by the characteristics of piety, reverence, virtue, and peaceableness! These two races of men are marked in profane monuments, as well as in holy writ†.”

Under these two different forms, the race of men is presented in all the ancient traditions of the world. On the one hand it is a devout race seeking God, loving peace, enjoying long life in a patriarchal condition of simplicity, yet not without a deep wisdom, as may be learned, not merely from perishable rolls of writing, but from durable monuments of stone. On the other hand, a colossal race, of strong, mighty, wicked sons of God’s, of heaven-assaulting-giants, as they appear in our later heroic fables. This division of men into two opposite kinds, mutually opposed and hostile, forms the real contents of the whole of early history. As soon as this division of mankind had taken place, and two wills arisen in them, one a godly, or at least a will desiring God, and the other a natural, desiring only nature, passionate and disordered will, it is immediately observable, that the human race takes two different and opposite directions, separating from each other. Although that opposition was pointed out as a difference of stem, and a division of two people, yet it was never the main point to remark it as a mere distinction between a noble and a weak race of men, as later writers have done in reference to the Celtic tribes. In the olden times, it was much more an opposition of mind, and of the spiritual disposition, than a bare difference of original stock, which divided the world into two divisions, each hostile and combatting the other. However far removed in time from the present, “they may be regarded,” he proceeds to say, “as answering to the two parties divided in their belief, only in another form and manner, and under other relations from what now exists. It was in a word, the

* Vincent Bel. Spec. Hist. i. 57.

† Philosophie der Geschichte, l. i. 52.

opposition of religion and irreligion, but on the vast scale of the original world, and accompanied with the gigantic power which the oldest traditions commemorate *.”

These are the giants spoken of in the prophecies, from which the Church reads, who were from the beginning, knowing war, whom the Lord hath not chosen, an allusion to whom explains the saying of Montaigne, that there is more difference between some men and others, than between some men and some beasts. There were, moreover, other considerations, to convince thoughtful Christians in the ages of faith, that the world could never enjoy uninterrupted tranquillity. One of them thus sung—

“Nunquam bella bonis, nunquam discrimina desunt ;
Et cum quo certet mens pia semper habet.”

“If it be asked,” says another, “what are the causes of there being so many wars in the world? I answer, that they are all for the sins of the people, to punish which God permits wars. Men of arms are the scourge of God, by his permission to punish sinners, and to do execution upon them in this world, as the devils of hell do in the next †.” “Times of war,” says St. Augustin, “are according as God judges fitting, to punish the human race ‡.” They are also to correct it: therefore the same great doctor said to the men around him, “Scipio wished you to be terrified by an enemy, lest you should give way to luxury. Now that you are ground down by an enemy, you do not even repress it. *Perdidistis utilitatem calamitatis, et miserrimi facti estis, et pessimi permanistis §.*”

“Sadness,” as Richard of St. Victor says, “when it is chastized by God, tries to accuse not its own conscience, but His justice, and fears not to adduce in His reproach what God prepares for its correction, and, as it were, a medicine for its special disease: what so impious, what so alien from true piety || !” But still the end is fulfilled. “By adversity,” as he observes, “the reprobate are punished, but not corrected; while by adversity the good are corrected from their evil, or are promoted to better

* Philosophie der Geschichte, i. 55.

† L'Arbre des Batailles.

‡ De Civ. Dei, v. 22.

§ De Civ. Dei, i. 33.

|| Annot. in Ps. xxv.

things*.” “Hence,” as St. Augustin remarks, “God sometimes executes his good will by making use of the evil will of wicked men†.” For as the Master of the Sentences shows, “the will of God is always fulfilled by man, whithersoever he turns himself‡.” From this knowledge it followed, that in ages of faith a poet would not, like Virgil, invoke with surprise the muse, to tell him what anger of the deity “*insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores Impulerit §.*”

Hear how the chronicles of St. Denis speak :—“Thus was the good king Philip de Valois a true Catholic, therefore our Lord wished him to have pain and tribulation in this world, in order that he might reign with him after death for ever ||. Without such trials, there could be no exercise of fortitude, which is the science of enduring contrary and formidable things ¶ ! Still less would a poet then have referred, like Cowper, to the long security of his country from war, while inflicting it upon other nations, as an argument to prove that it was especially favoured by God, addressing it in lines like his.

“Peculiar is the grace by thee possess’d,
Thy foes implacable, thy land at rest ;
Thy thunders travel over earth and seas,
And all at home is pleasure, wealth, and ease.”

He speaks as if under the old law, not the new, which imposes penance on nations as on men. During ages of faith, in times of overwhelming disaster, as in the fifth century, when some minds, not firmly settled in its doctrine, were troubled and filled with doubts as to the providential government of the world, there rose up men to repeat and develope the doctrine of St. Augustin. Such were a Prosper of Aquitaine, a Salvien of Marseilles, a St. Eucher of Lyons, who philosophized like him on the invasions and wars of the barbarians. “These wars and desolations,” says a writer in the year 890, alluding to the Huns in a letter to the bishop of Verdun, “are sent to punish our sins and lead us to mercy. In all ages they have been employed for that end. Blessed Gregory, in the close of his book ‘on Ezechiel,’ deploras the calami-

* De Contemplatione, ii. c. 19.

† Lib. i. dist. 46.

|| Ad An. 1350.

‡ Enchir. 24.

§ Æn. i. 10.

¶ Cicero Tuscul. iv.

ties of his times, saying on all sides, we are encompassed with swords, and with imminent danger of death. Blessed father Augustin reproves a bishop for lamenting over much the ruin of his city," and says, "non est magnus qui magnum putat quod corruunt lapides et moriuntur mortales*." In 1330, an historian of Pavia says, "though our city is now oppressed with discords, let our objectors know that God has inflicted these dissensions on it as on a city that He loves and wishes to correct in mercy; for doubtless the machinations of these sons of Belial, who by His just permission have risen up amongst us, will only conduce to enhance the crown of the good †."

That wars and troubles were unavoidable, had been recognized, notwithstanding the vain Roman formula †, by the ancient sages and poets, who endeavoured also to trace the evil to its source. Plato finds it in the body, which in fact, explains best the poet's words, "et multis utile bellum §." "Wars," he says, "proceed from the love of riches," and we are compelled to gain riches on account of the body, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀναγκαζόμεθα κτᾶσθαι διὰ τὸ σῶμα ¶. St. Bonaventura shows this from holy writ. Property causes strife, as appears from the shepherds of Abraham and of Lot **, and those of Isaac and of Gerara ††. Hence, the poet says—

"Si duo de nostris tollas pronomina rebus,
Prælia cessarent, pax sine lite foret."

The type of a multitude in all ages is the dealer in crests for helmets, with the Greek poet, who tells Trugæus that the peace has ruined him, ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸν βίον ††. Such was Auguto, and we should thank Italians for so concealing his English name, who replied to the Pax tecum of two friars, who came to see him at the castle of Montecchio, may God deprive you of alms! explaining afterwards his reply, by reminding them that he lived by war, like the Roman conqueror who was an

* Ap. Martene Vet. Script. Collect. tom. i. p. 230.

† Anon. Ticinens. de laudibus Papiæ, 22. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

‡ Dionys. Halic. lib. vi. Procop. lib. i. § Lucan. i.

¶ Phædo, 66.

** Gen. xiii.

†† Gen. xxvi. Compend. Theol. ‡‡ Aristoph. Pax, 1212.

enemy, wherever any money could be extracted *, and like others too whom we need not mention.

“ Arma placent miseris, detritaque commoda luxu,
Vulneribus reparantur.”

Such men by violence would seek the fortune of the Cid and his companions, who went to the king's court upon mules, and who returned upon horses. Æschylus only states the fact, that the Furies wish to be fellow inhabitants of the same city with Minerva †. Virgil speaks of her—

“ ————— Cui tristia bella,
Iræque, insidiæque, et crimina noxia cordi.”

Addressing that direful enemy, he says, “you can arm brothers of one mind against each other, and diffuse hatred and misery through houses,”—“ tibi nomina mille, Mille nocendi artes ‡.” He again represents the type of a large class of men that will always exist, in him who says—

“ Aut pugnam, aut aliquid jam dudum invadere magnum,
Mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est §.”

Yet to fate he ascribes it, for with a deep groan Æneas says, “Nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli Fata vocant ||.” In ages of faith, the poet had a refuge, “a stormy star rules this place,” says Petrarch, “against which the best remedy is flight. But alas ! whither can we fly from the thunder of fortune ? One resolution I have come to, that the peace which we seek in vain from without, we seek within us ; and that which the world hath not, we implore from God ¶.” Lucan, whom Dante saw so high advanced **, enumerates all the causes which impelled to arms the raging people, and drove peace from the world. He speaks of wealth, new manners, luxury, prodigality, feasting, the dread of poverty, the desire of joining field to field, unbridled passions, and of Rome not able to bear herself, “Nec se Roma ferens.” Passions, indeed, as another keen observer says, were, and ever will be, a fruitful source of war ††, before and after Helen, for whose sake so long the time was fraught with evil. And equally inseparable from

* Petron. Arbit. de Bell. Civ.

† Eumen. 916.

‡ Æneid. vii. 335.

§ Æneid. ix. 186.

|| Æneid. xi. 95.

¶ Epist. lib. x. 7.

** Infern. iv.

†† Hor. S. i. 3.

this present life is that darkness which involved the mind of Scipio or of the poet Ennius, which makes him boast, that by the slaughter of enemies he had opened for himself a way to heaven. That the fallen nature of man is blindly amorous of war was well known to historians of the ancient world. "There being a numerous youth," says Thucydides at the states of Greece, "they were pushed on to war with eagerness," ἐρρώοντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον *. In the year 1412 the old men and the young disputed in Padua as to whether they should make war or not upon Vicenza. "Let there be peace," said the former; "peace, to which every man tends finally." "Let there be war," cried the latter, and their voice prevailed; so that no one could speak of peace in Padua without danger of death †. It is something to find one point here in the dissent of the aged on which the resemblance fails to that picture by the Greek historian, who says, that of the Athenians, both young and old were smitten with the love of that unhappy expedition against Sicily; though the rest is sufficiently similar, for he says that if any man disapproved of it he was induced to keep his opinions to himself, fearing lest he should be thought disaffected to the state. So it set out amidst the blast of trumpets, and libations to the Gods, and the cheers of an enthusiastic multitude, and the chaunt of pæons that rose simultaneous from the sea and from the shore ‡. It is certain that there is in men an inclination to kill and to destroy. Lucan says that Cæsar's soldiers were at first reluctant to march against their country, but that they were recalled by the direful love of war; and he says that Cæsar himself loved wars for the sake of wars. Some, conversant with later times, will think that we need not go back to Cæsar to hear those words ascribed to him. "In vain would storms rage if no forest intervened to feel their force: the flame would expire if it met no obstacle, so to have no enemies would injure me, and I should consider it a loss if those did not rebel whom I could subdue by arms." As De Maistre says, "Man sometimes kills for killing sake. Proud and terrible king, nothing can resist him." There are many nations of

* Lib. ii. 8.

† Hist. Cortusiorum de Novitatibus Paduæ, i. 16. ap. Muratori, xii.

‡ Lib. vi. 24—32.

savages, as the Père Lafiteau remarks, who cannot exist without fighting. Cæsar himself is an instance, who, as the poet says, “Furious in arms, rejoices in having no way unless by bloodshed: has pleasure not in entering gates that are thrown open, but in breaking them down, ‘Nullas, nisi sanguine fuso Gaudet habere vias *.’” Pompey ascribes the same mind to all his soldiers, eager for battle when he sought to avoid it, “Metuunt, ne non cum sanguine vincant †.”

There is no age of the world secure from such images, so terribly expressed by Homer, when a hero says, “To me were always dear ships, and comrades, and wars, and arrows, and all the things which are bitter to other men. To me these things are sweet: they are placed in my mind by God, for each man has his particular delights, which are dear to himself and not to another ‡.” There are even whole nations influenced by “that fierce spirit whose unholy leisure was soothed by mischief since the world began.” The Corinthians said that the Athenians regarded rest from labour as no less a calamity than ceaseless toil, and that it would be a true assertion if any one affirmed, in brief, that they had never rest themselves, and would never suffer other men to have rest §. But leaving heathens and their times, whose experience was not unknown to men in Christian ages, we may conclude from the whole, that conflicts and disorders so far from being thought by the latter irreconcilable with the existence of the true religion, seemed to them a fulfilment of its predictions, and an evidence of its truth. St. Bonaventura shows that there is a four-fold war distinguished in Scripture: “war between flesh and spirit, unless penance pacifies it; war between man and God, unless justice pacifies it; war between man and angel, unless the blessed incarnation of the Son is applied to pacify it; and war between man and his neighbour, unless patience pacifies it ||.” Seek peace, and follow it. He does not say, adds St. Augustin, that you will find it here; but seek, and follow it. Whither shall I follow it? To the place to which it is gone before: for the Lord is our peace, who hath ascended to heaven.

In this world it is impossible that there should not be

* Lucan. ii.

† Id. vii.

‡ Od. xiv. 227.

§ Thucyd. lib. i. 70.

|| Dietæ Salutis, tit. vii. c. 6.

contentions and sorrow *. The perverse society of the impious, observes Vincent of Beauvais, renders our condition so uncertain, that the prophet says, "Neither on entering nor on leaving the world is there peace †."

"Such is the state of men; thus enter we
Into this life of woe, and end with miseree."

What is man? Pindar will answer, the shadow of a dream. What is man? Calamity itself, says Herodotus; the occasion of miseries, says Philemon; the plaything of fortune, and the image of mutability, says Aristotle.

"If you read all the writings of the philosophers," says one who sought in late times to imitate them," you will find that no one wrote with more discernment than Heraclitus wept ‡." Christians in ages of faith, had, it is true, other views, and, as we have seen before, a different experience; yet, contrasted with the peace within them, which enabled them to discern what must be elsewhere, they would, with a slight reserve, subscribe to this description of the external world:

"O, why doe wretched men so much desire
To draw their dayes unto the utmost date,
And doe not rather wish them soone expire,
Knowing the miserie of their estate,
And thousand perills which them still awate,
And he that happie seemes, and least in payne,
Yet is as nigh his end as he that most doth playne §?"

Hugo of St. Victor, after citing the opinion of St. Jerome, that our Lord wept not because Lazarus was dead, but because he was about to recall him to the misery of this life, adds, "which, perchance, was so, since, from the sentiment of true piety which he there possessed as truly man, he wept over the miserable lot of the human condition to which he was about to recal Lazarus ||." A tragedy, a tragedy, were the words which the venerable Dom. Didier de la Cour, abbot of S. Venne, was heard to repeat in his last hours. Some one, who heard him, at length demanded, "Father,

* In Ps. xxxiii. Enar.

† Spec. Mor. i. 4.

‡ Heinsii Orat. 23.

- § Spencer, iv. 3.

|| Annot. Elucid. Evang. Joan.

do you wish to teach us that this life is a tragedy, and that you have played your part in it?" He replied by an inclination of his head to signify assent *. Of the life of faith, opposed to that of glory, St. Augustin says, "Bona est, sed adhuc misera †."

Such reflections are a necessary preparation for the sad retrospect which now awaits us, to enable us to understand, with the great poet of the ages of faith, "how bitter can spring up when sweet is sown." For at that retrospect, in reference to these happy times, still we see the tenor of man's woe holds on the same. The glorious city of God is placed amidst the society of men living, as St. Augustin says, "after the manner of men under the domination of rebel angels ‡." To few generations, therefore, of the peaceful race can an historian apply the Thucydidean phrase, and designate them *ἄπειροι πολέμων*. Often into a fleet falls every grove.

" ————— it tristis ad æthera clamor
Bellantum juvenum, et duro sub Marte cadentum §."

Honoré Bonnor assigns as one of his reasons for composing his work, entitled the Tree of Battles, that he can hardly name a spot of ground, whether country or duchy, which at that time was perfectly at peace. "Many sons of discord and enemies of peace were still in the kingdom of France and in other kingdoms," says the great chronicle of St. Denis, on the accession of Charles the Bald; and when was it otherwise? Fearfully significant of disorder in the world are the very directions given to visitors of parishes, as these, by the Council of Rheims in 1408, which command them to inquire in each, whether there be any chests in the church without necessity arising from war ||.

The Roman poet, speaking of the Pharsalian tragedy, declines describing the worst scenes, and wishes that they may be consigned to oblivion.

"Ah! potius pereant lacrymæ, pereantque querelæ!
Quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo ¶."

* Voyage litt. de Deux Bénédict. 106.

† Tract. 124. in Joan.

‡ De Civ. Dei, xvi. 17. § Æn. xii. 409.

|| Ap. Martene Vet. Script. et Mon. Collect. tom. vii.

¶ Lucan. vii.

If, in the review which we are now to make of the wars and discords which desolated the nations during ages of faith, I should omit to speak of many, for our limits will permit but of a rapid glance, which can only catch the most prominent, the silence will not proceed from a similar motive; for the glory of the city God has nothing to lose by bringing forward instances of the obstacles opposed to it by the perversity of men. These are the dark, troubled waters which, from the beginning, I declared we should meet, and which I pledged myself to pass, offering also to conduct others beyond them, a confidence in which none of the historians or moralists of the middle ages will be found deficient, for truth they felt needs no concealment. George Stella, in the preface to his *Annals of the Genoese*, declares, accordingly, that he will describe both the evils and the good of his country, in order that the understanding may be instructed as to the condition of the times, and that the mind may be the more fervently impelled to desire that peace which the world cannot give *.

The gests of kings and dukes, and in what strain sad war may be described, has Homer shown; but how can I undertake to give even a faint idea of the evils, contrary to the spirit of the blessed peaceful, which afflicted, for so many ages, the city of God? Schiller says that it would require eternity to consider the perplexed image of the universal woe. To use the words of our great poet,

“ We see the ground whereon these woes do lie,
But the true ground of all these piteous woes,
We cannot, without circumstance, descry.”

“ In the world,” says St. Hildegard, “ there are, at intervals, times of insolence, and, again, times of contrition, and, occasionally, times of the lightning and thunder of diverse iniquities †.” These are the funereal and Tartarean years, of which St. Augustine speaks, like that when Rome saw five consuls ‡. These are the hours of terrific judgment, when, as at the Passion, the angels of peace weep bitterly ||; when the holy patient

* *Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori*, tom. xvii.

† *Epist. ad Anastas. Pap.*

‡ *De Civ. Dei*, iii. 16.

|| *Isaiah xxxiii. 7.*

are heard to breathe a prayer that the rude scene may end ; for then, as an old poet says,

“ Factum est in terris quidquid discordia jussit *.”

Then all things are in disorder excepting the constant minds of the saints, while impious Mars rages throughout the world. Then wars, that make such waste in brief mortality, announced with “cry of Haro,” with harsh resounding trumpet’s dreadful bray, and grating shout of wrathful iron arms, furnish occasion through all lands for deeds unsung by poets but chronicled in hell. Then, as one of late so grandly sings, “The sound is that of the assault of an imperial city, the hiss of extinguishable fire, the roar of giant cannon ; the earth-quaking fall of vast bastions and precipitous towers, the clash of wheels and clang of armed hoofs, and crash of brazen mail, as of the wreck of adamantine mountains, the mad blast of trumpets and the neigh of raging steeds, and shrieks of women whose thrill jars the blood, and now more loud the mingled battle cry.” Alas ! poor sons of peace, where are they the while ? Nearly the whole of the present book will be an answer to this question. But let us seek to distinguish in brief some few of these dread intervals. They occur early in our history. Witness what St. Jerome says. “The mind shudders to contemplate the ruins of our times. For more than twenty years the Roman blood has unceasingly flowed from Constantinople to the Julian Alps. Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all Pannonia, have been ravaged and laid waste by the Goths, Sarmatians, Huns, Vandals, and Marcomans. How many matrons, how many virgins of God, have been a prey to these animals ! Bishops prisoners, priests slain, churches overthrown ; horses stabled at the altars of Christ ; the relics of martyrs untombed. Every where grief and groans, and many images of death. The Roman world is falling, and our stiff necks are not bent. The East did seem safe from these evils, and only terrified at the intelligence, when, lo ! from the utmost rocks of Caucasus there have come down upon us wolves not of Arabia, but of the North, to overrun the provinces.

How many monasteries captured, how many rivers swollen with human blood ! To describe these things, Thucydides and Sallust would be mute*.” The horrors which accompanied the fall of the Roman empire may be designated as the first act in this great drama. Passing over the long and cruel wars and spoliations which ended in the subjection of Italy by the Longobards †, if we turn to the state of Gaul in the fifth century, we have striking testimonies as to the extent of the evil. Affecting are the complaints of Sidonius Apollinaris on occasion of the war of the Burgundian chiefs, which filled all places with confusion and dismay. Fauriel remarks the melancholy which pervades men of this fifth age at the spectacle of the wars around them. He cites the letters of St. Avitus, and one from St. Germain, bishop of Paris, to Brunehaut, urging her to use her influence with Sigebert, to prevent war. “Although these countries,” says the latter, “are accustomed to misfortune, and though we seem approaching our complete destruction, I should not have despaired of seeing the divine mercy suspend chastisement in expectation of an amendment, if it were not for the absolute rule of those wills which engender death, of that cupidity, root of all evils, and of that fury which destroys all sentiment of prudence ‡.” The wars of the Franks in this century were peculiarly horrible, in as much as they devastated the country, and eradicated the very fruits of the earth. It was of the Franks that Libanius said, “Peace is for them a horrible calamity §,” and to Alaric that these words were ascribed :

“Atque utinam cunctos licuisset perdere bello || !”

Disordered as were these times, there was still something left of horror to distinguish that dark episode of eighty-eight years which saw the reign of Clovis and the fall of the Merovingian race in the confinement of Childeric. Then came the civil wars in the time of Louis-le-débonnaire, whom Divine Providence seemed resolved to punish in his children, down to the third generation, in Charles the Simple, whom Herebert put to death in the prison of Peronne. Truly the domination of these sons was violent

* Epist. xxxv.

† Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. diss.* 23.

‡ *Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. tom. ii.*

§ *Orat. ad Constantin.*

|| *Claud. Paneg.*

and disordered. What a piteous tragedy was that which in one act displayed the unrivalled grandeur and prosperity of Charles-le-Gras, and in the next showed his sudden destruction, and the race of Charlemagne extinct beyond the Rhine, while perishing in France about the same time in the miserable ends of Charles the Simple, Lothaire, and Louis! The sufferings of men during these wars may be conjectured from what took place at the storming of Châlons, or from the eloquent and pathetic picture given of the horrors which attended the dismemberment of Charlemagne's empire, by the monk who wrote the life of Wala, abbot of Corby. At this epoch a bishop of Brescia thus writes to another prelate: "I beseech your fidelity to inform me what events are passing and what peace our kings, the sons of Louis, observe with Carolomann; for we who live in Italy, a prey one time to this power, another to that, are anxiously expecting to hear of their coming to an agreement, that we may know to whom we are to be subject*." But let us return to the northern invasions. Men of early times had glimpses of what was in reserve for the world. St. Clement of Alexandria styles Christians "the peaceful race," opposing them to the Scythians, Celts, and Thracians†. The Goths and other northern tribes, as Jordanus says, "used to boast that Mars had been born in their country‡." The answer of Gaukater to St. Olaus, king of Norway, was, "I am neither Pagan nor Christian. My comrades and I profess no other religion than a perfect confidence in our own strength and invincibility in battle." What terror pervaded the peaceful race in the ninth century, when these Normans assailed France with whole armies of such men, driving before them into the interior of the country the clergy, carrying the relics of the saints as their most precious treasures, when neither the Merovingians, nor the Carlovingians, nor the bishops, could defend the country; the letter of Hincmar to the Pope in this age being a confession of the inability of the latter! "The barbarians," as Muratori remarks, "not content with seizing cities and towns, took possession also of the houses and land of private persons, killing or expelling their owners§." The ravages of the Danes in Ireland

* Ap. Heumann de re diplomat. ii. 271. † Pædag. ii. 2.

‡ C. 5.

§ Antiq. Ital. i.

in the eighth century, men like those of Homer, to whom war was sweeter than a return in ships to their dear fatherland, their repeated invasions of England, and their wars with her Alfred and St. Edmund, bear witness that the desolation was not confined to the continent, but that every where the peace of the Christian world was disturbed. Thus returned the race of giants, when "might only was admired, and valour and heroic virtue called. To overcome in battle and subdue nations, and bring home spoils with infinite manslaughter, was counted the highest pitch of human glory."

In the eighth century nearly the whole of Spain had been subdued by the Sarassins, who afterwards seized Sicily; while on the opposite side of Europe the invasion of the Huns was accompanied with indescribable horror. These ferocious warriors raised a pyramid of a hundred thousand human skulls, and boasted that they had rased seventy cities. After their passage of the Rhine, say the great chronicles of St. Denis, "all Gaul was afflicted with battles: everywhere were cries, tears, horrors, slaughter, and rapine*." To learn the calamities caused by the Huns in general, we should read the different chronicles of abbeys published by Canisius and Leibnitz. The notice which occurs of them when brief is no less significative. Thus, of the year 917, the annalist of Corby says, "The Huns laid waste the monastery and all the country about †." Similarly, respecting the irruption of the Tartars in the thirteenth century, the chronicles of Austrian and other abbeys are full of details ‡. It was after the wars of the Italian princes that Italy was invaded by the Huns, whose cruelties may be collected from the letters of condolence sent by Pope Sergius III. to Leopard, Abbot of Nonantula, on the destruction of his monastery by these invaders in 908 §. Salomon III., Bishop of Constance, who died in 919, laments, in a solemn poem addressed to Bishop Dado, the desolation of Italy by these invasions, which were facilitated, he says, by the civil wars of Lambert, Berengarius, and the

* Liv. i. 6.

† Ap. Leib. *Scriptorum Brunsvicensia illustrantium*, tom. ii.

‡ Ap. *Pez Script. Rer. Aust. Chronic. Cornelli Zantfliet ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect.* tom. v.

§ Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* i.

sons of Louis Boso. He begins by showing that the whole Christian life is love :

“ Quid plus ? possidet omne bonum possessor amoris,
Nec locus est meriti, si deest dilectio cordi.”

Then, after describing the state of Italy, whose plains, he says, are whitened with the bones of the slain, he shows that the calamities have been caused by the absence of a strong hand to govern. “ Wonder not,” he says, “ at such horrors, but rather that we have not all perished, when there was no one who could say, Do, or, Desist*.”

But unconverted or apostate nations were not the only disturbers of the Christian peace. We must make mention, too, of those kings and feudal tyrants who wrought so many a woe for fair lands. “ The season of the year when kings proceed to war,” says Radevicus, the continuator of Otho of Frisingen, speaking of the deeds of the Emperor Frederic I., as if the ancient phrases † were still current ‡. “ The wars which in our time through the cupidity of kings have raged in Italy,” says an old soldier, Antonius Pontus §. Such sentences convey a mournful lesson. In fact few ages have been exempt from the effects of such cupidity. The execrable avarice of Richard I. in his latter years, was a great excitement to his ferocity in making war ||. “ Hear me, kings and princes, hear me, I pray you !” says the monk Nicholas, in the history of his great pilgrimage to Jerusalem ; “ What makes wars between you but irrational hatred and the appetite of vain glory, or an insatiable ardour for possessing lands ? Alas ! you know that to die for such causes is not a safe thing but bitterly perilous ¶.” What the pacific suffered from wars of this description may be collected from incidental notices. Thus, in the Saxon chronicle we read that, in the year 1087, “ William went into Normandy and made war upon his own lord, Philip the king, and burnt Mante and all the holy minsters

* Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. tom. ii.

† Reg. xi. 1. Par. i. 20—1.

‡ Cap. 14. Ap. Pez Script. Rer. Aust.

§ Ap. Ant. Mathæus veteris ævi analecta.

|| Chronic. Anglicarum an. MCXCIX. ap. Martene vet. Script. v.

¶ Le Grand Voyage de Hierus. f. cxix.

that were in the town; and two holy men that served God, leading the life of anachorets, were burned therein*.” Our Norman kings were indeed terrible. Peter of Blois knew them well. “Oh, God!” he exclaims, “Deliver me from the necessity of returning to the odious and troublesome court which lies in the shadow of death, and where order and peace are unknown†.”

When the English deserted their fortress of Bernardieres in Limousin, they set fire to it; and when Duguesclin and the French arrived, “they found a priest burnt, and he still held a chalice in his hand; at which spectacle the chivalry of France had pity‡.” The monk of Croyland, after describing the horrors of the civil wars which terminated with the death of Richard III., contrasts the misery of life with the happiness of dying; for, speaking of his abbot, Richard, he says, “thus did he exchange the troubled life of this world for eternal quiet.” His conclusion is affecting: “Qui legis hæc hominum tot mutatoria rerum magnorum, cur non mundi mutabilitatem totam contemnis? Cur vanæ gloriæ pompa te mentemve tangit§?” The wars between France and England when the family of Valois came to the throne of the former kingdom on the extinction of the eldest branch of the Capetian line, and the wars of the two roses during fifty years in England, and those of the English kings in Ireland, must certainly be considered as indicating a cruel abuse of power by those who sought to preserve or to extend it.

The wars of the English kings in France, indeed, were regarded by the invaded country as a divine judgment in vengeance of the policy of Charles V., who may be said to have ordered the great schism by siding with the anti-pope. As a consequence of these wars must be reckoned the ravages caused by the companies of their disbanded troops, who continued to desolate countries, even after the original contest had ceased. Traces of them perhaps occur in the laws of the Visigoths, one of which is directed against those who assemble troops to commit murders: so fresh was still the barbaric element||. Mu-

* P. 293.

† Epist. 14.

‡ Chroniq. de Duguesclin, 437.

§ Hist. Croyland. Rer. Anglic. Script. i.

|| viii. 51. 3.

ratori describes "the societies" which, in the fourteenth century, infested Italy. They used to plunder lands, seize solitary castles, take prisoners for ransom, and carry devastation wherever they went. So one ancient author exclaims, "O grief and shame of Italy! The holy name of society is now assumed by traitors and plunderers, who are not ashamed to prostitute that sacred and venerable name." These were not alone Italians, but Germans, French, and English*. In the fourteenth century the grand companies; in the fifteenth, the brigands and the écorcheurs; in the sixteenth, the adventurers, who were also styled devils, having no more pay to expect from belligerent parties, ravaged France, and verified what Pagans had experienced:

"Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur:
Venales manus: ibi fas ubi maxima merces."

"Sir knight," says a stranger to Gyron le Courtois, who conversed with him, "I am Brehus the pitiless." "St. Mary," exclaims Gyron, "what say you? If, indeed, you be Brehus, I know that you hold faith neither with God nor man, neither with the world nor with chivalry †." Such were the antichivalrous mercenaries. Then was it the maxim not to travel in winter after the angelus had tolled; then, at one's gate one had to speak with men at whose hands, and not at whose countenances, one should look the while ‡.

Few abodes of peace could wholly escape the influence of disorders in the world. In an ancient dialogue between an old man and a boy, the former speaks as follows: "Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Lewis were ravaging the country with their wars when I was a student at Vienna, when scholars of both countries used to defend their respective princes in tedious combats of words." The boy then interrupts him: "Strange that Bavaria should have been so desolated, which was so shortly before at peace. Perchance, the demon who goes about the earth perambulating it, as he says in Job, caused these evils." The old man replies, "I do think that the demons provoke discords, as is related in the lives of the Fathers,

* *Antiq. Italicæ*, Dissert. 16.

† ccxxxi.

‡ Cardan. *Præceptorum ad Filios Libell*.

where the demon, by extinguishing a light, wished to cause a quarrel between two brothers, but was prevented by the humility of one of them, who instantly prostrated himself before the other and appeased him. However, the occasion of this war was given at Constance, when Duke Lewis insulted his brother Henry, who, in revenge, wounded him with his sword, and then fled to Austria, where, with his nobles, he made war against Louis, and defeated him. How many battles do I remember taking place in different countries in my time ! The first was in 1410 between the King of Poland and the Teutonic order, in which there fell more than a hundred thousand men. In 1446 the Hungarians invaded Austria, and ravaged it with fire and sword. I omit to speak of the other bank of the Danube, about Markfeld, which has seldom peace. Pangratus, a Hungarian, long disturbed it ; but I have seen the end of all consummation. This man, sitting at table in Buda, cried out, ‘Lo, they come !’ and dropped dead. Perhaps he saw the demons coming. He was refused burial. Thus evil was his end, as often happens to the oppressors of others. In our country there was another oppressor, who at length used to be seen wandering from town to town, to whom scarcely, as to a beggar for God’s sake, would any one give bread. In Hungary, after the death of Lord Albert, King and Duke of Austria, of happy memory, many battles were fought which I pass over ; as also those between the Venetians and Milanese, the French and English*.” Thus the experience of each man’s life could entitle him to the praise bestowed on Bayard, that “he was a true register of battles †.”

The decline of the feudal powers before the centralizations of the later monarchical governments did not put an end to the worst evils of war. The French poet, who rather pedantically boasts of having read the wars of Alexander and of Troy the great, of King Arthur and Charlemagne, of Bleopatois of Spain and of the Round Table, declares that in no history has he found mention of such calamities as in his time afflicted the world ‡.

* Senatorium Dialog. Historic. Martini Abbatis Scotorum Viennæ ap. Pez Script. Rer. Aust. tom. ii.

† La Très Joyeuse Hist. du bon Chev.

‡ Regnier in Goujet Biblioth. Franc. ix. 332.

The sufferings of the pacific in disordered times are conspicuous in all the contemporary monuments. The whole lives of some were thus embittered. Behold, for instance, the troubles of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II. ! He was at Rheims when that city was laid waste by the sword. His house was plundered, and his life sought for by his enemies*. In Bobbio, as at Rheims, at the emperor's court, as in his active career at Ravenna, and at Rome, he is seen as one whose life, though blameless, had incurred perpetual strife. Alluding to his three years' residence in France he says, in a letter to Raimund, Abbot of Aurillac, "There, while I endured the anger of kings, the tumults of the people, and the fury of adversaries, I was seized with such disgust that I almost repented having undertaken the pastoral care." At that moment, he says, such are the distractions even of Italy, that he cannot say anything for certain respecting his organs, or the mode of using them†. "Bear assistance to me, Father," he says to Romulf, Abbot of Sens, "that the Divinity, who is excluded by the multitude of sins, may be bent by your prayers to return to visit us and to remain with us for ever‡."

The peaceful race may seem now to have drained to the dregs the bitter cup, and yet we have not yet reached all that they had to taste, for in still worse desolation we shall hear them cry—"We seek not peace, O heavens ! Excite against us the nations."

"————— omnibus hostes

Reddite nos populis ; civile avertite bellum §."

"Contention, sister and companion of homicidal Mars," as Homer says ||, "sooner or later arose in most states," not without that shame which indicates, to use Pindar's words, "the departure of divine protection, when enmity arises between those who are of the same blood¶." O ye sons of meekness and desire, what was your country then? "No more your country, but an impious crew of men conspiring to uphold their state by worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends for which our country is a name so dear, not therefore to be obeyed. Such were

* Hock Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert, 82.

† Ep. 91.

§ Lucan. ii. || iv.

‡ Ep. 13.

¶ Pyth. Od. iv.

the intervals which beheld the long civil wars previous to the reign of Rodolph of Habsburgh, the disorders of the great schism, the wars of the two factions of Guef and Gibeline, the wars between the seigniors of Germany, and the free towns during the miserable reign of Wenceslaus of Bohemia, the rivalities of Burgundy and Orleans in France, of Habsburgh and of Luxembourg in Germany."

In Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the wars of private men were multiplied to the disturbance of all states. Peter Damian describes these enmities thus, "a man kills another more powerful than himself, from whose son, after the manner of the age, not after the laws of the Gospel, he has to sustain war, the avenger breathing slaughter and rapine *. In France, these petty wars and dissensions commenced about the year 1031 †. In the twelfth centuries, the factions of Guelfs and Gibeline began to disturb Italy; but it was not until the time of the heretical emperor, Frederic II., that these first became serious ‡. Then after long striving, the divided citizens came to blood, and one party chased the other with much injury forth. This was the great moral plague which devastated that noble land during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and part of the fifteenth centuries. The name of Gibeline was first used to designate those who followed the family of the emperor Frederic I., and desired its domination in Italy. The Guelfs on the contrary were those who disliked that domination. "These latter," as Muratori remarks, "did not hate the empire, or refuse to obey the emperor; but they detested the race of that Frederic I., who had destroyed so many Italian cities, and therefore, when it was a question of choosing between a Frederic II., or an Otho IV., of the race of the Welfs of Este, they immediately declared for the latter. Moreover, whenever there was a collision between the empire and the Church, they stood by the Church, knowing that not even the emperor himself was exempt from its jurisdiction. These factions divided not only states, but cities, and even families and single

* Lib. iv. Epist. 17.

† Murat. Antiq. Italicæ, xxiii.

‡ Jac. Malveccii Chronic. Brix. vii. 103, ap. id. Rer. It. Script. xiv.

houses, brethren being ranged against brethren with indescribable fury *."

"When Count Gottfred died," says an old writer, "there arose such a discord between the Counts of Languscho, and of Turriani, that if the stones had cried out, 'Pax fiat,' peace would have been impossible †." Petrarch gives a sad picture of an Etrurian race, distracted by factions—"You behold nothing safe amongst the inhabitants of this region, you hear of nothing peaceable, you feel nothing humanized, but only war and hatred, and all things like the works of demons ‡." Our great poet has made us familiar with these scenes. "Where be these enemies? Capulet! Montague! See what a scourge is laid upon your hate, that heaven finds means to kill your joys with love!"

To these calamities we must add the insurrections, which from the eleventh till the thirteenth century, attended the rise or struggle of the Communes, or free cities in France, and the local wars of the feudal nobles, who so often desolated the country around them, or sought to punish or destroy each other. "When such times come," says a later poet, "tyranny must be, though to the tyrant thereby no excuse." Reader, you will recollect with what reserve we spoke in the second book of those who dwelt within the feudal towers, only endeavouring to show that there was a chance for such men to enter on the way of blessed life. You will not then tax me now with contradiction, if I present before you many of that class, as cruel tigers, who never lay aside their ferocity. "Lust in their hearts, and mischief in their hands, they roam the earth to prey upon each other." The names of a meek age are all associated with fearful traditions, which attest the brute and boisterous force of violent men, hardy and industrious to support tyrannic power, but raging to pursue the righteous, and all such as honour truth! The *πολίπορθον* of Homer, was now changed into a darker term. "Church destroyer," was the surname of the Count de Châlons, in the time of Louis VII. He it was who massacred the

* Antiq. Ital. l. i.

† Gualvanei de la Flamma Hist. Mediolanens. c. 311. ap. Muratori, tom. xi. Rer. It. Script.

‡ Epist. xi. xii.

monks of Cluny, whom his ancestors so dearly loved*. In the reign of king John in England, there was in the English army in Poitou, a man named Enguerrand, of immense stature, and of a cruel heart. Such was his ferocity, that he often broke the gates of churches, whence he was generally called Brise-Moutiers. The churches were often exposed to pillage, but as fast as violent men deprived them of their property, the faithful hastened to make fresh donations, though at the risk of being again plundered†. The abbot Suger, in his history of Louis le Gros, says of Eudes, Count of Corbeil, “*hominem, non hominem quia non rationalem sed pecoralem.*” Suger wrote to Louis le Jeune, to tell him that some of his barons were but ravenous wolves let loose upon the land. “Their life was but a battle and a march, and, like the wind’s blast, never resting, homeless, they stormed across the war-convulsed earth.”

Many kings of France were obliged to march at the head of their armies against such disturbers of the public peace. Thus Philip Augustus made war upon Hébert de Charenton as also upon Robert de Beaujeu and the Count of Chalons; but of these wars I shall have occasion presently to speak more in detail. In Italy the same class of tyrannic men existed. Pope Innocent thus speaks of Eccelino de Romana, “Under the form of a human countenance, with a bestial mind, thirsting for Christian blood, he carries on an implacable war against the common fœderations of humanity. Not content with raging against the bodies, he infuses, by means of corruptors of Catholic faith, death into the souls of men‡.” The Chronicle of Asti declares that he delighted in killing men, and in the act of shedding human blood§. Such is a brief outline of the chief disorders which disturbed the world, during the ages of faith. I have not sought to palliate or suppress them. The study of history, I am aware, will enable men to proceed with the picture in as dark colours as any fancy can desire. But we must resign such employment to others, and inquire now what became of the peaceful race amidst such troubles, and

* Capefigue, *Hist. de Phil. Auguste*, i. 85.

† St. Victor, *Tableau de Paris*, i. 214.

‡ Ap. Murat. *Antiq. Ital. diss.* l.

§ C. 2. Ap. *id. Rer. Ital. Script.* xi.

assuredly it will be a grand spectacle after surveying them to behold “the glorious city of God, in this pilgrimage of time, amidst the impious living by faith, and expecting by patience the stability of the eternal seat *.”

CHAPTER II.

ARMS, slaughter, flames, and blood, float in fearful vision before our eyes, when lo! a sound of prayer as from a vast concordant multitude,

“ ————— May thy kingdom’s peace,
Come unto us ; for we, unless it come,
With all our striving, thither tend in vain †.”

These are the blessed peace-makers, that glorious fellowship of saintly men, whose varied ministering to the will of God, as angels upon earth, shall now be the object of our investigation, as far as can be attested by human memorials, which here are limited, for in the trials of a disordered world these souls desiring peace only rise for a moment upon the surface, to disappear again in the refining flame.

In order to signify the purport of this first act, in which they will appear to us, we may adopt, as an expressive sentence, that which is prefixed to one division of the history of Leopold William, Archduke of Austria, son of the second Ferdinand, composed by Nicolas Avancin, who sums it up as showing “the desire which he had of peace in the midst of war.” It is of this desire that I have now to speak.

“*Pacem super Israel :*” such was the prayer, during ages of faith, of all who belonged, internally, to that immense society spread over the earth, the members of which were designated by Tertullian as “*Sacerdotes pacis,*” by Clemens Alexandrinus, as “the peaceful soldiers of Christ †,” by St. Bernard, as “the order of

* St. August. de Civ. Dei, i. 1. † Dante, Purg. xi.

‡ Protrepticus, c. xi.

the pacific, far above all others * ;” and the diffusion of whom throughout the nations was remarked even by profane historians, as tending universally to a greater order and tranquillity than the world had ever before experienced. “One single century,” says a late writer, “had transformed the Anglo-Saxons from blood-thirsty savages into mild, and humane, and affectionate men ; had banished from their hearts all selfishness, which is the distinguishing mark of barbarism, and in its place had implanted the self-denying and magnanimous virtues †.” In fact, these most cruel of the barbarians became the most zealous lovers of peace, insomuch, that more than thirty of their kings and queens left their thrones in order to serve God in the tranquillity of the cloister. The Franks themselves now gloried in a new character. The herald, whom they sent to Morvan, the chieftain of Brittany, warning him of the folly of becoming an enemy to the emperor Lewis, said to him, “The Franks are invincible in war, but pacific, full of religion and humanity, and never taking up arms without regret ‡.” The very changes of names which were made in so many places, as at Beneventum, which had merited its former sinister title by the slaughter of 30,000 Samnites, indicated the new pacific views which followed the introduction of Christianity §.

“The Langobards, too, had been terrible, but when they renounced Arianism, and embraced the Catholic faith, they contended with other nations,” says Muratori, “in piety, clemency, justice, and humanity, so that the people were happy under them ||.” In short, historians of the middle age in general estimate the titles to admiration, of both states and individuals, by the desire which they evinced of peace. Thus, all that we read of the chief citizens of Pisa, in 1199, whom the writer wished to condemn, is “*Filii pacis non erant ¶* :” yet its generally meek, pacific character was deemed one of the glories of that people, while the warlike temperament of Genoa was traced to its old Ligurian blood. In those

* De Conversione, 21.

† Dunham, Hist. of the Germ. Empire, ii. 58.

‡ Ap. Fauriel. Hist. de la Gaule Merid. iv. 80.

§ Italia Sacra, viii. 4. || Antiq. Ital. diss. xxiii.

¶ Gesta Innocent. iii. c. 46.

times, not to love peace, in fact, was deemed synonymous with imperfect conversion; and so another writer says, "The people of Placentia are prone to war and discord, after the manner of the Gentiles, who had here a temple of Bellona;" though of this city the prophecy of Michael Scot declares,

"Piscis ut unda foret, sic pace Placentia floret *."

Other cities, as Padua, gloried in their love of peace. "Mild, quiet, pacific," says an ancient writer, "are the Paduans, therefore their diligence is turned more to discipline than to arms; thinking that there should be more splendour and glory attached to letters than to arms, since by laws and precepts, rather than by wars, men are first collected together so as to form a republic. Therefore, when they contemplate glorious fame, they seek that renown especially which, in all ages, has followed letters. For by discipline and learning men provide for the ornament and utility of present and of future times, whereas the fame of soldiers is not rarely buried with them in the grave †." Thus, in fine, over cities might have been inscribed the line which is read on the portal of the ancient church of St. Peter, at Louvain, alluding to its origin:—

"Mars Petro cessit, pro clavibus hasta recessit."

Serving with faithful love, until iniquity should pass, and all principality and human power be evacuated, and God be all in all, the Catholic society was taught to refer all use of temporal things to the fruit of earthly peace in the earthly city, and in the celestial city to the fruit of heavenly peace ‡. The constant voice of its chief authority on earth was that "in the good of peace is comprised all good," as Clement IV. reminded the citizens of Florence §. Every tongue that ventured to admonish it, would repeat, with the counsellor of kings,

* Chronic. Placentinum, ann. 1336. ap. Mur. Rer. Ital. Script. xvi.

† Comment. Savonarolæ, lib. i. ap. Murat. Rer. Ital. Script. xxiv.

‡ St. August. de Civ. Dei, xix. 14.

§ Ap. Martene Thes. Anecd. tom. ii. 436.

that "wherever Jesus Christ is, there is peace and union *." Every teacher that its common voice proclaimed remarkable, dwelt upon this theme, and showed that peace, whether internal of the breast, or external in the condition of the times, or supernal in the peace of eternity, was the way of God, all whose paths are peace, whose name is the God of peace †, with whose favoured people the word peace signified every good ‡, and whose providential government of the world was known to have had, from the beginning, no other object but the restoration of peace to fallen man; so that Gotfried, of Viterbo, remarks that his own name, which signifies the peace of God, aptly belongs to him, as the author of a work called Pantheon, which contains the whole history of man from the creation §.

Let us hear speak some of the guides of men in ages of faith. "Peace," says St. Bonaventura, "is the language of heaven, for Christ, who came from heaven, spoke that language, as when he said, after his resurrection, 'Pax vobis.' The angels, too, who are citizens of heaven, spoke it, saying, 'In terra pax;' and the apostles, taught by Christ, were to speak it on their mission, saying, when they entered a house, 'Pax huic domui ||.'" Taught and formed by these divine instructions we find on every page of the history of the middle ages traces of pacific hearts, diffusing a radiance through the darkest gloom, still shining miraculously, like those tapers round the body of St. Hugh, which ancient writers say were borne from London to Lincoln, in great wind and rain, without being extinguished ¶; looking, from their tranquillity, like lamps into the world's stormy night; like stars, while clouds are passing by, which wrap them from the view of foundering seamen. They who, from the desire of eloquent harangues to show the excellence and good of peace, refer

* Lamentations de Salmon. 134.

† Rom. xv. Phil. iv. 9. Heb. xiii. 20. 2 Thess. iii. 16. 2 Cor. xiii.

‡ Gen. xxix. 6. xli. 16. Jos. x. 21. 1 Sam. x. 4. 2 Reg. vi. 6. Esa. xxvi. 3. Jer. xv. 5. Ps. cxxii. 7. 1 Cor. i. 3. Eph. vi. 23.

§ Ap. Mur. Rer. Ital. Script. vii.

|| Dietæ Salutis, tit. vii. c. 6.

¶ Dietæ Salutis, tit. vii. c. 6.

¶ Dietæ Salutis, tit. vii. c. 6.

to these ancient books may, perhaps, experience a disappointment : for in ages of faith men were less rhetorical.

“ What shall I say of peace, or of the praise of peace ? ” exclaims St. Augustin : “ Your affections anticipate my words. I will not continue. I cannot ; I am weak. Let us defer all praise of peace till we arrive at that country of peace. There we shall be able to praise it where we shall more fully possess it. Jerusalem is the vision of peace, and all who possess and love peace are blessed there for evermore *.” Yet there was a language in which these lovers of peace on earth could testify their desire. Witness these altars in so many churches, and especially in regions often devastated by war, like Belgium, which are consecrated under the invocation of St. Mary of peace. Over one in the church of St. Nicholas, at Brussels, there is inscribed, “ From war deliver us as from pestilence and famine.” Even in the streets and squares of Catholic cities, as in that capital, were placed solemn sentences deprecating war. Over the door of an ancient curiously-carved house in Beauvais, near the cathedral, I read inscribed, “ Pax huic domui. In te Domine speravi : non confundar in æternum.” Artists were representing, like Callot, in horrible imagery, the miseries and calamities of war, while others sought to express, in carved stone, the prayer of fervent souls, that the mountains might receive peace for the people, and the hills justice. To others, finally, forming, no doubt, the vast undistinguishable multitude who, from the depth of their souls, desired the countenance of the pacific king, was left the gift of tears, which, in the worst of times, was their resource and the universal language. We read of St. Geneviève, in the time of Attila, that whenever she looked up to the sky her eyes filled with tears. Thus did she and countless others comply with the injunction, “ Rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem.” I said in the beginning that men who followed in the track of ages which had heard the Church, need not to be told of the horrors which afflicted her from wars and violence. Her children, though nurtured in divinest lore, had yet been conversant with books of poets and chroniclers, whose wild but holy talk had not left even their sweetest years ignorant

* Tract. in Ps. cxlvii.

of what she suffered. "Thus the dark tales which history doth unfold, they knew, but not, methinks, as others know; for they weep not." We cannot open any of the familiar letters of the middle ages, of which we have such immense collections, though a modern author has not been able to discover any, without finding traces of the same desire. Many of them begin with these words, "*Pacem et caritatem diligere* *."

Gerbert, whose calamities we have already noticed, calls to witness the clergy of Gaul, its kings and nobility, that all he asks is peace: "*Non aurum poscimus, non prædam requirimus; sola caritas est, quam interruptam reposcimus.*" To the Emperor Otho he says, "To you, to your father, and your grandfather, I have evinced the purest faith amidst enemies and weapons, through wildernesses and haunts of robbers, in hunger and thirst, in cold and heat. Wearied by so many tempests I should have preferred death to not seeing the son of Cæsar reign, who was then a captive. I have seen him and rejoiced; and I wish it may be permitted me to rejoice unto the end, and to finish my days with you in peace †." Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, writes to the Empress Adelheid, to beg that she would procure peace and deliverance from his adversaries while he is engaged in building the church of St. Mary. "If it be true that Nanno endeavours to persuade all my enemies desiring my destruction, I beg that by your power you will preserve my life a short time longer, until I shall have completed the structure of the church of the blessed mother of God ‡." Peter of Blois, writing to a foreign bishop, reminds him of the words of the prophet: "Seek the peace of the city to which the Lord hath made you migrate, for in its peace will be your peace;" and concludes that such is the duty of all Christians §. We shall see as we proceed how generally this was understood. One ancient author relates an impressive example. In the month of October, in 1338, "in the silence of the night," he tells us, "there appeared certain persons in the church of St. Maria Transtiberi, who cried,

* Ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. i. p. 733.

† Ap. Duchene, iv.

‡ Ap. Pez Thes. Anecd. tom. vi. 98.

§ Epist. lxxxix.

Peace, Peace! uttering no other words. The people, hearing of this, went to the houses of the Ursini's and Colonna's, who were enemies, and made peace between them in a manner miraculous*." It is a fact which we must notice early, that it was with the hearts and minds of the pacific that the people in the middle ages sympathized.

They were lambs, not wolves, that the pastors of the churches had then to feed; and in desires, at least, pacific were the nations whom cruel men urged on to battle†. In the reign of Edward III. everything had been done to make the English love war. After the battle of Crecy, being thoroughly weary of it, when the chancellor, wishing to rouse a false honour, addressing the Commons, exclaimed, "What, then! should you wish a perpetual peace?" "Yes, indeed, we wish and would accept it," was their reply. A Genoese historian of the thirteenth century says, that in general it is necessary to compel men to engage in battle, and that the readiness of his countrymen to fight on one occasion was a remarkable exception‡. In 1169 the forces of Pisa and Genoa were about to engage, when suddenly Guido de Mercato, consul of Pisa, rode forth, armed cap-à-pie; and coming up to the consul of Genoa, said humbly, "Why should there be this day a mortal combat between us? It would please me, and all that are on my side, if it should also seem good to you, that there should be no battle. Peace is more to be desired by you than war, and I for my city wish by all means for peace. Answer me, then, quickly, before our troops engage." "What sort of peace do you desire?" asked Roger, the Genoese consul: "He is the enemy of God who despises peace. Truly I too desire peace with you; only I deprecate a deceitful peace, and fear lest it may be such that you propose." To whom the consul of Pisa answered, "God knows that with sincerity and a pure heart I ask for peace." When, having called a council, the peace was declared and ratified§. The history of Germany presents

* Sagacio et Pet. Gazata Chronic. Regiense ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xviii.

† Annalista Saxo, an. 876.

‡ Jac. de Varagine Chronic. Jan. pars v. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. ix.

§ Caffari, Anal. Conuers. lib. ii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.

a scene of the same kind, which shows the chiefs themselves the foremost in meeting peace. In 1198 Odoacer, hearing of the emperor's death, entered Bohemia, to recover possession of it, at the head of an army, declaring war against his brother; but Henry, abhorring civil war, and, moreover, wishing not evil but well to his brother, in the very night before the intended battle, having held a secret council with his friends, both armies being ignorant of what passed, called his brother to a conference, at which he expressed his desire of peace, and his wish to remove the obstacles to it. Then the two princes gave each other the right hand in pledge of friendship, and returned to their tents. Early the next morning each army was on the march home, Henry returning to Moravia, having resigned Bohemia to his brother*. But still in general it was the popular voice that advocated peace. When the treaty was made between Philip Augustus and Count Philip of Flanders, which, according to the chronicles of St. Denis, was made "as if miraculously, being made without effusion of blood, the people," we read, "in their joy rendered thanks and praise to our Lord, who had thus saved those who trusted in Him †."

The exclamation of the people of Reggium, in 1306, "*Morianitur milites et habeamus pacem*," and that of all the Italians, according to the same chronicle, in 1331, "*Vivat Rex Bohemiæ et pacem habeamus †!*" are other instances, which might easily be multiplied. Oh, how many amiable sons of the people, like others found within the castles of nobility, would have responded to the complaint of Schiller's hero in the "*Wallenstein!*" "Tell me, where is the end of all this labour,—this grinding labour,—that has stolen my youth, and left my heart uncheered and void, my spirit uncultivated as a wilderness? This camp's unceasing din, the trumpet's clang, the never-changing round of service and parade, give nothing to the heart, the heart that longs for nourishment. There is no soul in this insipid business.

* Chronic. Monast. Admontensis ap. Pez Script. Rer. Austriac.

† Ad an. 1184.

‡ Sagacio et Petr. Gazata Chron. Regiense ap. Mur. Rer. It. Scr. xviii.

Life has another fate and other joys." The verses which Cowley addressed to Falkland express the same thought :

" He is too good for war, and ought to be
As far from danger, as from fear he's free."

" ————— Those men alone,
Whose valour is the only art they know,
Were for sad war and bloody battles born."

" God has created iron for cultivating the earth, not for slaying men," says Don Antonio de Guevara, writing to the constable of Castille. Writers of the middle age extol Galen for arguing, contrary to the Stagyrice, that the formation of the human body, which is without weapons of itself, shows man to have been born for gentleness. They knew that youth tamed and made innocent by the true discipline is content with its own pacific sports and limbs undecked with trophies of success of war. Possessing its naked arms, not even the ivory shoulder borne by the Pelopidæ would inspire it with envy. " Oh, singular serenity of writing!" exclaims Richard of Buri: " We see the Creator of the world, at whose tremendous name every knee should bow, stooped down to write, as if to teach every generous youth that fingers were given to men for writing rather than for war*." You smile perhaps; but certain it is, that many in these ages resembled in disposition, if not in feature, the young page, of whom the warrior thus speaks in the Lord of the Isles:—

" Alas, poor child! unfitting part
Fate doom'd, when, with so soft a heart,
And form so slight as thine,
She made thee first a pirate's slave,
Then, in his stead, a patron gave
Of wayward lot like mine;
A landless prince, whose wandering life
Is but one scene of blood and strife."

The universal joy expressed at all terminations of war in the middle ages was sufficiently significative of what the nations loved. What Cicero says was then more

* Philobiblion, c. xvi.

than ever true: "Nothing was so popular as peace*." Gaufred, Canon of St. Barbara, in Normandy, writes thus to a friend: "After finishing the letters which I intended sending to you, lo! a new day has risen on our regions, and the divine clemency has poured a bright light into our sad hearts; for peace is made between the king and his sons, and so peace, long an exile, comes back to us. I return thanks to the just and merciful Creator, who wounds and heals, who strikes and makes whole again†." The Spanish chronicles, relating the victories of the Christian arms over the Moors, are chiefly eloquent in describing the peaceful consequences: "In every direction arose stately monasteries, those fortresses of the faith. The sacred melody of bells was again heard among the mountains, calling to early mattins, or sounding the angelus at the solemn hour of evening." "After the defeat of the French," says an ancient historian, "when the storm of war seemed to be passed from Italy, every one hoped that she would at length enjoy the long-desired peace; so in sure hope of quiet, with minds full of confidence, men offered up their prayers at every altar. I also, as if emerged from a common danger, or as if escaped from shipwreck, resolved to fear no more, and to bring my writing to an end‡."

Thus again, in 1358, when universal peace was made in Italy, in the city of Milan, there were processions, we read, and litanies by clergy and laity, and games of all kinds, and infinite joy§. And again, in 1293, when, by the grace of God, as another historian says, "the Kings of Hungary and Bohemia, with the Dukes of Austria and Bavaria, were brought to concord, the earth rejoiced at the peace. The Duke of Austria, invited by the King of Bohemia, entered his dominions to visit the queen his sister, and similarly the King of Bohemia visited Vienna, when he was solemnly entertained, all men praising the clemency of our Saviour for the tranquillity of peace||."

* Pro leg. Agrar.

† Ap. Martene Thes. Anecd. tom. i. 503.

‡ Carpesani Comment. suorum Temporum, lib. x. ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

§ Chronic. Mutinense ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xv.

|| Chronicon Claustro-Neoburgense, ap. Pez Script. Rer. Aust. tom. i.

“See what are the temporal fruits of peace,” says St. Bernardine of Sienna; “all things are filled with joy; agriculture flourishes when martial fury interrupts not the process of nature; men travel securely,—no robber is feared by the way; domestic virtues reign; cities are adorned by the arts; the flocks and herds are led to pasture to the sound of flutes and pipes; the woods are made tame; houses are built; families are multiplied; merchants go and return in safety; the tranquillity of monks is preserved; the offices of the Church are celebrated without interruption; literary studies flourish; exercises of piety are performed; the word of God is honoured and fructified amidst the multitude of people; every one has his rights; no one complains of injustice*.” The ancient writers bear witness to the truth of this statement. “No sooner did the Cisalpine nations breathe from war,” says an historian, “than the cities of Italy assume a pacific aspect. Immediately the citizens of Parma conspired to raise a grand church under the invocation of the mother of God, and persons of all ages and conditions engaged in this undertaking with one heart and soul; fathers and sons, beardless boys and married men, from the lowest to the highest rank; and it did not shame noble matrons in purple and precious robes to toil under the weight of vile burdens. Offerings were daily brought with festive rites and music, and to the music of sacred bells; not through ostentation, or as a spectacle of vanity, but to express the overflowings of a true piety. Towns and villages contended with each other in these gifts, and even from other states, numbers came with offerings. This was in 1521, and for some months the whole city had but one object in view, nor any day was void of ceremonies. Already the august walls of the temple rose with admirable beauty, and showed the distinct chapels and the spherical termination, which by a certain new device, was to rise into an arched vault; when suddenly, warlike fury announced with the din of trumpets dispelled our joy, and gave signal of wide and enduring desolation†.”

“At this time,” says Albert de Ripalta, in his annals

* Serm. xi. l.

† Carpesani Comment. suorum Temporum, lib. vii. ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

of Placentia, "peace was proclaimed between all the powers of Italy, so that the prophetic sentences seemed fulfilled—behold the days of desired felicity succeed: it is a time of delight for us. Let all that flourish rejoice with me. Wars cease; love reigns, every one crowned with flowers exults: and then the joy of the people of Placentia corresponded to the peace; and the Lord looked down benignly from heaven upon our city, and we began to construct a new church, and the bishop came in procession with all the clergy and people, and solemnly laid the foundations: and the next day there was a wondrous office for the souls of the dead who had been buried under the old church, and such was the multitude of persons bearing tapers in their hands, that from the fragments which remained after the office, five hundred pounds of wax were collected*."

Similarly as soon as Milan found herself at peace under Azo Visconti, the historians of that city are filled with admiration at the beautiful churches, towers, and cloisters, which were immediately commenced†. How remarkable is it to observe whole nations actuated like one man by the spirit of the wise king, who said, "Now Jehovah gave peace, therefore I thought to build a house to his name‡." Thus was verified the sentence of Richard of St. Victor, that "by prosperity, which dissolves evil men into themselves, and deprives them of God, the good are nourished to good things, and protected from evil§."

Some modern authors would make us believe that the French sophists of the last century, "were the first to advocate those profound and permanent interests of the human race, which are inseparably connected with a love of peace; that they, above all the earlier teachers, stripped the image of war of the delusive glory, which it took in the primitive ages of society, and turned our contemplation from the fame of the individual hero to the wrongs of the slaughtered millions." It is to be lamented, that men of ability should thus fall into the style of those writers, who possess no other qualification than a deplorable facility of making vague and sonorous sentences.

* Annales Placentini, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xx.

† Gualvanei de la Flamma de Reb. Gest. ap. Il. xii.

‡ 1 Reg. v.

§ De Contemplatione, ii. c. 19.

We shall know how to estimate the justice of such accusations, before arriving at the end of this book; but even already we can discern the imprudence of the zeal which prompts them, regardless of the terrible field for recrimination, supplied in the tendency of modern opinions, and in the facts which attest their power. For if the guides of men in ages of faith were to ask in the words of *Æschylus* to his rival, those who now direct the public mind, on what account they consider that a poet should be admired? they might indeed reply, like the pedantic moralist, “on account of his making men better citizens,” but assuredly the former with the strictest justice could then repeat the great tragedian’s words, and say, “this you have not done, but on the contrary being good and generous, you have made them unholy, adulterers, fond of glory and of war, and of insurrection. You did not receive them from us such. Unlike what they are now, they were then breathing piety and love, and less qualified for war than for peace*.”

“We were at all times,” they might continue, “for peace: you began with insurrection; the very hymns of your chiefs sounded like a war-song under the vaults of Worms. The old cathedral trembled at the new sounds of that Lutheran tumult, which terrified the birds in their obscure nests at the top of the towers. We founded and maintained, you have divided kingdoms; and upon the heights encircling towns, where we placed churches and monasteries of brethren, who were to pray for peace, you have mounted your artillery, turning into batteries the walls that were for abbeys reared. Are mountain valleys under your government? They present nothing but fortresses and citadels—magazines and men of arms. Are ancient cities? Their venerable sanctuaries of peace, adorned with all the precious works of contemplative art, are converted into barracks for your legions. We knew the calamities of war from the invasion of barbarians, and from the local quarrels of petty tyrants openly wicked, who waged it on a small scale, not for glory or for empire, but, like the *Ursini*’s and *Colonna*’s, for life†. You inflicted them through system, as the result of national and honourable struggles, though your victories were not the solid joy of happy men, as *St. Augustine*

* *Aristoph. Ranæ.*

† *Carpesani Comment. suor. Temp. iii.*

says, "but the vain solace of the miserable, incitements to the restless, to perpetuate other evils*. Our wars, when not necessary and just, were the result of passion, and denounced, stigmatized as evil. Your wars are systematic. You make war by system upon distant countries, for some frivolous pretext, in order to preserve your own citizens from rebellion; you wage wars by system, to maintain an equilibrium of nations, which would otherwise, thanks to the effects of your revolutions, prey upon each other. Truly our neighbours, since you have taught them your philosophy, can help us to a comment on the text. What a contrast is there between the genius which presides over these palaces, in which the battles of every age are represented in order, as an inscription on their front declares, to proclaim all the glories of France, and the mind which imagined and admired that poor coin of the middle ages, containing the figure of St. Elizabeth, holding a church in her hand with this motto, 'Sancta Elizabeth, gloria reipublicæ?' Alas, I doubt if the warlike fame of these sons would now rejoice the dead, according to the Homeric notion†."

How vain is modern rhetoric before the reality of things! Europe was then covered over with pacific, as it is now with military institutions. "Whither have fled the sounds that soothed life then—the mystery and the majesty of religion, the joy, the exaltation, and the peace?" We have seen by what forms the youthful mind was then moulded. Images or symbols of peace, the festival of the boy bishop, or of the prince of youth, with his processions sanctioned by the clergy, or the decoration of little altars on certain days of universal joy, seemed not opposed to the cultivation of that heavenly childhood to which Christ has promised the kingdom of heaven; but rude men scorned the Church for accepting with love whatever puerile decorum prompts; and now the child, "ere he can lisp his mother's sacred name," as Cowper says, "swells with an unnatural pride, and lifts his baby-sword. This infant arm becomes the bloodiest scourge of devastated earth; whilst specious names, learnt in soft childhood's unsuspecting hour, serve as the sophisms with which manhood dims bright reason's ray,

* De Civ. Dei, iii. 17.

† Od. xi. 450.

and sanctifies the sword upraised to shed the blood of hapless men." Trugæus, who could not hear a boy make use of the word spear, without crying out

Ἀσπίδας; οὐ παύσει μεμνημένον ἀσπίδας ἡμῶν;

and who quarrelled with him when he heard that his father's name was Lamachus, because it resembled in sound

Ἀνδρὸς βουλομάχου καὶ κλαυσιμάχου τινὸς υἱὸς,

could seldom have a respite from irritation now *. Our public spectacles—our palaces—our museums—our paintings, would all seem to announce war either present or impending. The τεχνῖται τῶν πολεμικῶν, and the arts which minister to the vilest luxuries, are alone in great repute. A nation may thus appear, like the Athenians of old, as described by the Corinthians, "bold and daring beyond their power, and full of hope in dreadful emergencies †;" but Christians, in ages of faith, desired not such renown. Curious it is to find the heathen poet representing Minerva, as exhorting the Furies to refrain from infusing the martial spirit, like the heart of cocks, into her chosen citizen—

Μηδ' ἐξελοῦσ' ὥς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων,

Ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἰδρύσῃς Ἄρη

Ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασὺν ‡,

when we behold the image of that bird that most delights itself in war, now chosen to supplant the lily, which betokened peace, as the emblem of nations. Assuredly it is difficult to believe those pacific, who so proclaim themselves. Their guides often resemble men described by Peter of Blois in these terms: "they pretend peace, and nourish hatreds: they speak of fraternity, and excite enmities: they are full of anger, contention, envy, detraction: they say peace, peace, and there is no peace §." And are we to believe that these are the men who first stripped the image of war of delusive glory? What skills their protestations or the panegyrics of their admirers, when we see them every day verifying what the prophet long ago announced

* Aristoph. Pax, 1291.

‡ Æsch. Eumen. 861.

† Thucyd. i. 71.

§ Tract. Quales sunt.

of them? "*Mordent dentibus et prædicant pacem.*" When we see the fruits of their sowing to be injuries, suspicions, enmities, treasons; when if they ever desire peace, it is only with the powerful, as when Abimelech came to Isaac on seeing him prosperous, when if they can triumph they make a solitude and call it peace.

It is in modern times that man, after perfecting the arts of destruction, has learnt to name all hurtful things, as formerly while continuing in charity, he had imposed names on all the innocent creatures of the sanctified muse, and had taught the office of each choir of angels whom he knew familiarly by their titles, their employments, and their beauty. That Great Britain always gains by war is a maxim that we have not inherited from Catholic times, when the desire of every people was that expressed in the old line—

"*Pacem, felicitatem, sanitatem per omnia sæcula tribuat Deus* *."

But we need not leave modern literature to find proof of what I advance here. "For who has not remarked the scorn, and the bitter taunts with which Catholic nations were spoken of by men of the new discipline, for the very reason that they were not trained to war! Such travellers in their descriptions of them adopted the very words of Satan in disdain of the angels, of whom he said in mockery—

"Whose easier business 'twere to serve their Lord,
High up in Heaven, with songs to hymn His throne,
And practised distances to cringe, not fight †."

Truly the heroes of their predilection are not exactly imitators of an angelic type. Daniel Heinsius can hardly find words adequate to express his sense of the warlike glory of Gustavus Adolphus. He says, "that Mars shines in his countenance; that he is the offspring of Mars, and Augustus, greater and better than Alexander; that he was never a child, never a youth, but always a king; and that he is an object of admiration, like the sun ‡." Indeed, the men who teach philosophy to kings of the new religions, formally eulogise Alexander, whom Dante placed with Dionysius, where the souls of tyrants given

* Ap. Goldast. Alemannican. Antiq. tom. iii. præfat.

† See the same in the same work, tom. iii. præfat.

to blood and rapine wail aloud their wrongs. Fichte defends him from what he terms "the misrepresentations of sentimental pigmies," and declares that "it was a generous and glorious idea, which gave birth to the enterprise and made it successful." "Tell me not," he continues, "of the thousands who fell on his expedition, tell me not of his own early death: what greater deed was now left for him after he had realized his idea than to die?" How a student conversant with the scholastic philosophers would start if he came to such a sentence as this, on the pages of St. Thomas, or of any other Catholic writer of the middle ages! Truly the highest praise that could be elicited for such heroes, from the lips of the schoolmen, would not exceed that of the poet—

"He is gone whom the world preferred to peace *."

Oh, with what solemn earnestness, with what majesty did they admonish kings! "That man carried with him to his grave," says the English Chronicler, William of Newbridge, speaking of his contemporary Henry II., "no part of those Irish spoils he had coveted so eagerly in life, risking his eternal salvation to amass them. He left to unthankful heirs all that he had acquired with such toil and danger, and thus afforded a salutary lesson to many†." Ratherius of Verona cites the words of our Lord, "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for the other," and then adds, "I love God, each one will now reply, even the worst of all, even a tyrant, for, alas! hatred so much abounds, that no one has more glory than, O horrible to say it, a murderer; but no murderer or hater of his brother, however glorious in the eyes of the world, hath any part in the kingdom of Christ and of God‡." He calls murderers men who made war through avarice or pride. St. Aldhelm, of Sherburn, denounced in solemn verse vain glory, and all the vices which lead to horrid war§. But in general, men who instructed kings in the middle ages, after they had sung their Litanies, in some of which was added, "Ab appetitu inanis gloriæ ||,"

* Lucan. ix.

† Rer. Angl. ii. 26.

‡ Ratheris Ver. Epist. ad Omnes Fideles, ap. Martene vet. Script. ix.

§ S. Ald. de Octo Princip. Vitiis, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.

|| Ritus Vet. Senensis Ec. ap. Baluze Mis.

they never supposed it necessary to say that wars for glory were sinful ; but, appealing to the conscience in general terms, they asked, with Alcuin, "where will be the proud ambition of secular pomp when the spirit returns to the Lord who gave it * ?"

"O, wondrous and miserable condition of men," exclaims Bartholomew de Neo Castro, "O, wondrous prodigy of divine power! Those whom we so lately beheld in glory are now prostrated. O ye, therefore, who glory in the world, learn that the turnings of this earth are in the hand of the Most High, and that besides the law of the Lord there is nothing durable. What profit is there in the favour and pomp of the sons of men, if, laying aside the fear of Christ, you begin to rage against the innocent, and afterwards are struck and removed by the hand of the Lord? Learn whom you ought to fear in heaven, and whom to love on earth, that you may dread the Lord of heaven, and never rise up against your brethren †."

The school, however, had its formal decisions, following the holy Fathers, which it adduced in all treatises on government. "To wage war upon neighbouring countries," it said with St. Augustin, "and then to proceed against others, like Ninus, who was the first to wage such wars, and to attack and subdue nations through the desire of empire, is nothing but robbery on a great scale. Kingdoms so extended are great robberies, just as robberies are little kingdoms. Only when the evil gains such increase that places are seized, cities occupied, and peopled subdued, the name of kingdom is applied to them, which changes nothing, for the cupidity is the same, only in this case there is added impunity ‡." "If with the wish of killing another," says St. Bernard, addressing the Templars, and alluding to secular warfare, "you should happen to be slain, you will die guilty of homicide. If you prevail, and with the will of conquering, or of punishing, should slay a man, you will live guilty of homicide : but it is not expedient for you, whether dead or alive, conqueror or conquered, to be guilty

* Epist. lviii. ap. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. ii.

† Historia Siciliæ, c. 36. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiii.

‡ De Civ. Dei, iv. 6. Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, i. 2.

of homicide." The church knew the evils consequent on peace, but her voice was that of St. Augustin, who said that "it was better to pay the penalty of indolence than to seek the glory of arms, and afford the impious spectacle of nation warring against nation *."

Writing to king Æthelred, and to the princes and people of Northumberland, Alcuin says, "The sweetness of holy love often compels me to admonish you to maintain that peace which ought to be between you." To the former he says, "Amongst the good works, by which you can ascend to heaven, are the charity of God, the love of men, and mercy to men, and patience and benignity to all men. Let no secular ambition, no desire of vengeance upon enemies impede your course, but run while you have light, work while it is day, that you may come to eternal light, and with Christ and his saints to everlasting glory. A king must not desire to seize the inheritance of others, for the rapacious shall never possess the kingdom of God. See how your predecessors perished on account of their rapines. Alas! how miserably will they be tormented in eternal pains! Have peace with each other, and benignity, and mercy, and justice; and by concord let your kingdom be maintained †."

The sermon of John Gerson, chancellor of Paris, before the king of France and his nobles in 1408, beginning with the words of Isaiah, "Veniat pax," will show with what eloquence the scholastic and mystic wisdom of peace was announced to monarchs down to the close of the middle ages ‡. Indeed many of the ancient laws and ordinances commence with declaring that nothing better than peace can be obtained in this life §. But let us hear what was taught by laymen respecting this beatitude. "War," says Savedra, "is a violence opposed to the nature and end of man, whom God has formed in His own image, and to whom He has imparted a share of His power over all things for their preservation, but not for their destruction ||." That kings must

* De Civ. Dei, iii. 14.

† Ap. id.

‡ Gersonii Op. tom. iv.

§ Carol. v. in Procem. Leg. Reg. Capit.

|| Christian Prince, ii. 321.

prefer an honest peace to a useful war was the maxim of every writer who touched upon the subject *.

Petrarch, in a letter to Andrew Dandolo, doge of Venice, after reminding him that he had from the first exhorted him to preserve Italy from war, continues thus : "Beware, lest when Nature has made you mild and pacific, and not you only, but all your people, whose happiness depends, not on the success of wars, but on the maintenance of peace and justice, you should seem to be of the herd of those who, as the psalmist says, 'thought iniquity in their hearts, and all day long urged battles.' For nothing, I think, is more odious to God than when He has adorned you with some especial gift or virtue, of your own accord, to endeavour to become evil. Follow then, not the fury of the vulgar, but your own nature, and withdraw your foot while there is time, while, as yet, between the bitter and horrible threats of war, one can still hear pronounced the sweetest name of peace, that you may be called the peace-maker of Italy, and transmit that glorious title to posterity. I beseech and implore you; I conjure you, by the love of virtue, by the love of your country, by the five wounds of Christ, through which issued that most sacred and innocent blood which has redeemed us, not to despise this counsel †." In another letter to the same duke, he says, "Though armed, think of peace, love peace, and be assured that you can win no more brilliant triumph, and endow your country with no richer spoil than peace. When it is a question of war, I would use the words of Hannibal, who, though of all men the most warlike, said, as if the words were extorted from his lips by Truth, that 'a certain peace is better and safer than a hoped-for victory.' And if he, who burned with such a desire of conquering, and who disturbed peace throughout the whole world, said this, what will be urged by the friend of peace? Will he not say, better and holier is a certain peace than a certain victory; because the one is replete with calm, and brightness, and grace, and the other with labour, and crime, and insolence? What is pleasanter than peace? what sweeter? what happier? Never can I understand what

* Joan. Palatius, *Aquila inter lilia*, x. 2.

† *Epist.* ix. 15.

pleasure there can be in making war upon men, who, under other circumstances, would expose their breasts for your safety as for their own. They can tell this who feel an effeminate delight in the revenge of injuries. But it is better to forget than to punish, to appease than to destroy an enemy. Gentleness is the part of men, rage of wild animals, and of those only the most ignoble. If my voice can be heard in your grave deliberations, not only you will not reject peace when it approaches, but you will go forth to meet, and, with a close embrace, to welcome it, that it may remain with you for ever *."

That the new law of forgiveness was binding even upon states, and that public measures opposed to it were the evil deeds of worldly men, was a lesson taught by the great Dominican who filled the see of Genoa: "It would be long," he says, "to tell of the victorious deeds of our state; therefore, we shall only speak of four of these; for every city has duties to fulfil towards God, towards itself, towards its friends, and towards its enemies. It is bound to evince honour to God, to procure common benefits for itself, to give consolation to its friends, and, according to the evangelic rule, to show love to its enemies; but as worldly men desire rather to have victories over enemies than to show them charity, after relating how well our city has fulfilled the three first of these obligations, we shall have to speak of its victories by arms in ancient and modern times †." In fact, novel as the assertion may seem to those who only read Froissart, the historians of the middle ages speak in general with regret of all warlike deeds. It is not in their volumes that we should find a parallel to the seventh book of Cæsar's Commentaries, where he describes, in the polished, easy style of Madame de Sevigné, the terrible wars of conquest in Gaul, which led to such immense results, so smoothly relating the numbers of the slain, and the shocking amounts of amputated limbs. In relation to such events they might have chosen for their motto the verse referring to a battle in Ireland, cited by "the Four Masters," which says, "the poet sung not the slaughter

* Id. Var. Epist. i.

† Jacobi de Voragine Chronic. Januens. ap. Mur. Rer. Ital. Script. ix.

of that field, for he came away from it with sadness in his heart ;” or these lines of Fulbert of Chartres :—

“Salve summe pater, fer et omnibus integram salutem,
Quicumque pacis diligunt quietem
Et qui bella volunt, hos contere dextra potenti
Trudens gehennæ filios maligni.”

Hear how Angelbertus speaks of the battle of Fontanet, at which he assisted as a combatant :—

“De fraternâ ruptâ pace
Gaudet Demon impius.
Gramen illud ros et imber
Nec humectet pluvia
In quo fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi.
Laude pugna non est digna
Ne canatur melode :
Oriens, meridianus,
Occidens vel Aquilo
Plangent illos qui fuerunt
Illic casu mortui.
Maledicta dies illa
Nec in anni circulis
Numeretur, sed radatur
Ab omni memoria ;
Jubar solis illi desit ;
Aurora crepusculo.
Noxque illa nox amara
Noxque dura nimium,
In quâ fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi,
Pater, mater, soror, frater,
Quos amici fleverant *.”

The chronicles of St. Denis might justly praise the French for defending their country against merciless invaders ; and yet, speaking of the wars between Philip of Valois and the king of England, they only say, “This was a year of misery and confusion ; for, between the two kings, there was nothing done which deserves praise : but the churches and the poor common people

* From a MS. of the eleventh century, in the ancient Abbey of St. Martial, at Limoges.

were aggrieved, to the dishonour of all Christendom, which these princes ought to have sustained *."

When James de Voragine speaks of the victory of his countrymen, the Genoese, over the Pisans, in 1245, which was in his day, he exclaims, "But it would move compassion to mention what was the slaughter of the Pisans †." Relating how the Genoese and Venetians were about to engage, Raphagni Caresini, chancellor of Venice, says, "It would have softened the hardest hearts of stone to see two of the most notable and powerful communities of the world intent upon destroying each other by sea and land ‡."

Speaking of the wars of the Normans and others, another ancient writer says, "What tongue would suffice to describe all the desolations, and slaughter, and horror of every kind which followed! Alas! it would shame me to tell of what happened during that time in the Church of Christ: but these are the Divine judgments, which, though hidden to mortals, are yet, in the providence of God, never unjust §. Otho of Frisengen, in this respect laudable, says, in his Prologue to the Emperor Frederic I., that he esteems happy those who are now to write history, since there is a return of peace, and that the virtues of the reigning Cæsar promise a long and happy rest to the people of the empire. It is in consequence of the encouragement he draws from the cessation of war that he undertakes to record the deeds of Frederic ||."

Francis Carpensari of Parma begins his history of Italy, in his own times, with pathetic lamentations, on account of the wars of the French, under Louis XII. and Francis I., which had afflicted his country so long. "Reflecting," he says, "as to the cause of these evils, which have disturbed my days since my boyhood, I concluded that it was nothing else but the ambition of a

* Ad an. 1340.

† Jac. Vorag. Chronic. Januens. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

‡ Raph. Car. Continuat. Chronic. And. Danduli, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xii.

§ Hist. Monast. S. Florentii, Salmar. ap. Martene Vet. Script. Collect. t. v. 1084.

|| Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.

few, than which no pestilence is more fatal; for this it is which subverts both public and private tranquillity, as in the days of Marius, Sylla, Julius Cæsar, and Pompey. Always it has been the same study, the same insatiable rage, agitating the minds of men *.” After relating the advice of Louis XII., on his death-bed, to Francis I., to carry on the war in Italy, he adds this terrible sentence: “For as he thirsted after warlike deeds while living, so, going down to the dead, he had still the same solicitude, as if his bones would rest more softly when his ghost was appeased with human blood †.”

Speaking of the war of two years between the kings of France and England, caused by the Castle of Gisors, in 1109, the chroniclers of St. Denis say, “They came back to former love; but before this could be, there were many innocent people slain and destroyed ‡.” And Suger calls that war “an execrable perdition of men.” Let us hear the preface of another historian. “I know not, venerable father, why you should have committed to me what you could execute better than any one else. You have commissioned me to write histories who are yourself full of histories, old and new. What I have written, therefore, is all to be ascribed to your command; and if you should order my whole work to be thrown into the flames, I shall not be troubled. Four things, especially, seem to have excited the ancients to write histories:—the glory of praise, the hope of gain, the love of eloquence, and a desire of imitation, of which I approve only of the last, and not even of that wholly, for will it profit you, or rather, how fatal will it not be to the salvation of your soul to emulate either Hector the brave, fighting for Troy, or direful Achilles, for the Greeks, or the beautiful Turnus, or the pious Æneas, waging war against each other, or, to go farther back still, the giants, as they say, sons of earth, taking up arms against God? These things, however grand, are, in imitation, most vain. What shall I say of the glory of praise, what of gain, what of inflated style? Nevertheless, such imitators have not been wholly frustrated in their aim. They found what they sought. Their praise

* Carpensari Comment. suorum temp. lib. i. ap. id. tom. v.

† Id. vii.

‡ Chroniques de St. Denis.

has ever been, and ever will be heard while the world lasts: but, oh, wretched men, who made war, and triumphed thus! Here is all your recompense, all the reward of your labour. You have nothing more to receive; but to a Christian man, who has a better hope, who not in this world alone expects to live, there should be a more reasonable ground and motive of action *."

Honoré Bonnor begins his celebrated manual, the "Tree of Battles," saying, "But since I have chosen this matter, it has come into my imagination to make a tree of mourning at the commencement of my book, to signify the state of tribulation in which the holy church is at present from the wars between princes, and the disputes between the nobles and the communes." Walafrid Strabo contrasts the historians of wars with those of the saints:—

"Si tantam meruere suo pro carmine famam
Qui scelerosorum mores et facta tulerunt
Laudibus in cœlum perfusi dæmonis arte,
Frivola nectentes hominum monumenta malorum,
Cur non liberius sanctorum facta canamus,
Quos placuisse Deo nobis miracula produnt,
Quæ fidei virtute gerunt per munera Christi †."

A curious contrast with later writers occurs also in the desire of the old Catholic historians to avoid the least word that can possibly occasion animosities between the living. The Annalist of Modena speaks as follows: "In 1266 the Modenese besieged the Castle of Monte Valerio, in which were the Grasulfi and many nobles, who had been expelled by the Argones from Modena. One thousand persons were in the castle, many of whom were put to death by the besiegers, whose names, I think, it is more honest to pass over in silence for the sake of peace ‡."

Finally, these historians generally take occasion to express their own earnest desire of peace. Thus William Ventura, in his history of Asti, says, "Though I have suffered many injuries, yet He, who knoweth all things, can witness that I have set down naught in malice.

* Joan. Legatii Chronic. Crenobii S. Godehardi in Hildesheim Prol. ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvic. illustrant. ii.

† De B. Blaithmaic ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. ii.

‡ Annal. Veteres Mutinensium ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

Only may he grant peace in our days; a prayer to which we would, with a pure heart, respond, Amen. “*Fiat pax, Domine, fiat pax* *.” Roderic Santius concludes his history of Spain by praying, that the Most High may teach the reigning monarch, Henry IV., to direct himself and his subjects in the way of peace †. Lanckmann of Valckenstein, in the conclusion of his narrative, after stating that the empress Leonora has left a son, Maximilian, and a daughter, Cunegond, adds, “to whom may Almighty God grant pacific times. Amen ‡.” And the benediction of God on the Emperor Lewis is thus invoked by Walafrid Strabo :—

“*Pacem consilio faciat retinere salubri
Quem paci æternæ muneribusque parat.*”

On the other hand, the horror with which every idea of war was associated is often expressed in a very striking manner by the ancient writers. John de Monsterolio, secretary to Charles VI. of France, writes as follows to Benedict XI., who is celebrated, he says, throughout the world for his love of peace, which, in one word, expresses all good. “It is now about sixty years, as I have heard from my elders, since this war between kings commenced, the thought of which fills me with bitterness. If I wished to relate the evils following from this war, I should not know where to begin. Who could describe the slaughter, robbery, burning of sacred places, and inhuman ferocities? O pious Jesu, who can relate with dry eyes how children were torn from their parents, and butchered before their eyes? O cruel deeds! O execrable barbarities! O heavens, to what times have we been reserved, when Christians thus persecute Christians? If the just can scarcely be saved, O what becomes of those multitudes living and dying thus §?”

Radulf Coggeshale describing the devastations caused by the wars of the kings of France and England in Richard’s time, and the desolation of provinces which ensued from their dissensions, adds, “the divine wrath was not slow to avenge such great impiety, visiting the

* *Chronic. Astense*, c. 157. ap. id. xi.

† *Ap. Hispania Illustrata*, tom. i.

‡ *Ap. Pez, Script. Rer. Aust.* ii.

§ *Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect.* ii. p. 1315.

territories of both princes with pestilence and intemperate seasons during seven years*.” “What then,” exclaims St. Bernard, “is the end of this, I do not say warfare, but malice—non dico militiae, sed malitiæ—if the slayer sins mortally and the slain perishes eternally? Nothing causes wars between you, or dissensions, but either a movement of irrational anger, or a vain appetite of glory, or the cupidity of some earthly possession. Truly for such causes it is not safe either to slay or to be slain †.”

Man may dismiss compassion from his heart, but God will never. That the blossoms of each generation should be destroyed, that war should leave once happy parents destitute ere the cheek of him be clothed with down, who is now rocked with lullaby asleep ‡, that the blood-stained sword destructive of young breasts, as the Greek poet says, *σπλάγχνων βλάβας νέων*, furious with rage not caused by wine, should leave them to deplore a comfortless old age, these were reflections which inspired with an infinite horror of war, the vast multitude who sought to imitate Him, whose thoughts, as is declared, are of peace and not of affliction. On one occasion the Duke of Burgundy having ordered that no quarter should be given to the Liegeois, the body of the sire de Perwez who commanded them was found on the field of battle, still holding by the hand that of his son slain at his side. These were the spectacles, the bare mention of which disarmed the eloquence of vain orators, when they magnified the advantages of war. The mind's eye of those who heard them, was fixed on the father's agony; they wept not, they were silent; but not all the decorations of a conqueror, though like another Siccus Dentatus, he might wear fourteen civic, three mural, one obsidional, and eight golden crowns to mark his success in a hundred and twenty battles §, could ever make such glory appear enviable again. An Irish synod in the eighth century, enumerating the evils of war, as consequent on a wicked king, notices even the sufferings of animals, which are so multiplied in such

* Chronicon Anglicarum a. MCXCVIII. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

† Exhort. ad Milit. Templi, c. 2.

‡ Dante, Purg. 23.

§ Aul. Gell. xi. 11.

times *, not overlooking those groans of the expecting creature, of which the apostle so beautifully speaks †. The hatred of war diffused throughout the people, is indicated strongly in these old national proverbs, one of which requires for an enemy who turns a silver bridge. The line of Prudentius was a popular axiom :

“ Nil placitum sine pace Deo, non munus ad aram.”

The collection of these sentences by Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the emperor Conrad, which was printed by Martene from a manuscript found in the abbey of S. Matthew at Treves ‡, bears proof of the preponderance of the pacific desire : as in the lines

“ Pacis donum omnibus est bonum.
Qui in pace fundantur non eradicantur.
Incendium bellorum corruptio est morum.
Bene credit qui neminem lædit.”

Even artists conspired to the same end. Spanish writers say that Aurelius, son of Alfonso the Catholic, is always painted with his face turned back, as if through shame not showing it, but, like another Cain, for having killed his brother §.

It is very important to remark that Lucifer, the first-born of the demons, was chiefly known in the middle ages under the title of “ the enemy of peace.” Such he is called in the Chronicles of St. Denis, as where we read, relative to Louis-le-débonnaire, “ the enemy of peace did not suffer the holy devotion of the good man to be without battle, but endeavoured by himself and his members to trouble him in every manner.” So also Ottobonus, the continuator of Caffari, speaking of the civil feuds in Genoa in 1183, occasioned by the murder of Ingo de Frexia, says, “ the seed of Satan fell and took root in the city ||.” And in the book of the deeds of the Mareschal de Bouicaut, the parties of Guelph and Gibilline are described as “ the diabolic custom sown

* Capit. Canonum Hiber. xxiv. 3. Ap. Dacher. Spicileg. ix.

† Ad Rom. viii. 19.

‡ Vet. Script. Collect. ix.

§ Alfons. Carthag. Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis, ap. Hisp. illustrata, 1.

|| Annal. Genuens. lib. iii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.

amongst the Italians by the enemy of hell*.” The Holy Scriptures dictated such titles, for Solomon makes the absence of Satan synonymous with peace. “*Requiem dedit mihi Dominus per circuitum, et non est Satan.*” “The demons,” says Vincent of Beauvais, “fallen from the state of peace, endeavour multifariously to disturb our peace†.” Now observe how this idea was ever present upon suitable occasions. “In the second year of his reign,” says a Chronicle, “the emperor Henry III. celebrated Pentecost at Mayence. Shortly before mass, while seats were preparing in the church, a quarrel arose between the men of the archbishop and those of the two abbots of St. Gall and Fulda, both of whom by usage were to sit with the emperor. The two parties came to blows; the bishops and princes hastened to appease the tumult; the combatants were reconciled; the church was cleansed and purged, and the holy mass began. At the words of the sequence ‘*Hunc diem gloriosum fecisti,*’ a voice was heard saying, ‘*hunc diem bellicosum ego feci.*’ A shuddering ran through the crowd: but the emperor understanding the joy of the demon, said aloud, ‘thou inventor of all malice, thou hast made this day warlike and sorrowful to the proud, but we by the grace of God, who has made it glorious, will make it benign to the poor.’ Then the sequence being resumed with great weeping, he implored the grace of the Holy Spirit, and perceived by the tears of all present, and the striking of breasts, with sighs and groans, that his invocation was heard. Mass being over, he sent heralds to assemble all the poor, and then ordered to be given to them the banquet which had been prepared for himself and the princes‡.” Such were the convictions which taught men that “even were there rightful cause of difference, yet it were better fayre it to accord than with blood-guiltinesse to heape offence, and mortal vengeance joyne to crime abhord§.” The principle of Greek, and especially Spartan humanity, which forbade all rejoicings for victory||, entered essentially into the manners of Catholic nations in ages of faith, who, as we observed

* P. 11. c. 1.

† Spec. Mor. 1. iv.

‡ Hermanni Corneri Chronicon. Ap. Eccardii Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi, tom. ii.

§ Spenser, ii. 2.

|| Plut. Ages. 33.

before, had no triumphal arches or permanent memorials of successful war. St. Clement of Alexandria remarks that Numa, being a Pythagorean, was the first who erected a temple to faith and peace *, and we must remember that all temples, being erected in ages of faith by Catholics, were so many memorials of the love of peace. Sometimes even formally so, as when the people of Brescia built the church of St. Francis for brethren of that order, in pursuance of a vow by which they engaged to build it, if God would deign to make peace between their contending factions †. Many things in ancient manners, are to be referred even to a wish like that expressed in the Virgilian line,

“ Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella ‡.”

Thus hunting was condemned by holy men, as by Ambrose, Gilibert, and Rupert, expressly on the ground of its being calculated to make men love war §. While the vain and giddy, and profligate part of society desired troubles, who could doubt but that the vast majority were represented by the grave, thoughtful barons, and the holy communities of monks, who so often reflected in the silence of their halls or cloisters on the miseries which follow war? Those innumerable poetic men too who so deeply sympathised with the loveliness of nature, had peculiar grounds of their own for abhorring military operations. Hear how Hugo Falcando speaks to Peter, treasurer of the church of Palermo, in the preface to his history of Sicily. “ I was intending, dearest Peter, after the asperity of winter had been mitigated, to write something joyous and agreeable, that I might dedicate it to you as certain first-fruits of the reviving spring, but hearing of the death of the king of Sicily, understanding and considering within myself what a change of things that calamity will bring about, and how this most peaceful state of the kingdom will now be shaken either by a hostile invasion or a popular sedition, through consternation of mind I abandoned the thought, and I prefer

* Stromat. v. l.

† Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, viii. 65. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiv.

‡ vi. 832.

§ Andr. Cirino de Venatione, lib. i. c. 25.

turning to grief my harp and changing my song to mourning, although the bland serenity of the clear heavens, and the beauteous aspect of the groves and gardens infusing an incongruous joy into my mind, endeavours to turn me aside from that resolution: for what place is there for lamentations, or who would not be offended at the unseasonable tears which flow at such a moment as this, when the year throwing off the white hairs of decrepit age, becomes adolescent again in the flower of youth, and the vernal temperature succeeding to the winter's cold, invites the birds to revive the sweetness of their long intermitted song? Yet I cannot refrain my tears when I think of the woes approaching Sicily, which, like a tender nurse, has with such devoted love cherished and nourished me in her bosom: for now I already behold the turbulent host of the barbarians rushing onwards, opulent cities that had so long enjoyed peace, devastated, and all the horrors which must ensue from the Teutonic violence agitated by an innate fury, stimulated by rapacity, deaf to pity, insensible to religion." This prediction was written on the death of King William II. in 1189, and verified in 1191 by Henry VI., who married Constantia of Sicily*. How affecting are these lamentations! They remind one of these ancient lines, so beautiful and sad:

Εἰρήνη βαθύπλουτε, καὶ
 Καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν,
 Ζηλὸς μοι σέθεν, ὥς χρονίζεις.
 Δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πρὶν πόνοις
 Ὑπερβάλῃ με γῆρας,
 Πρὶν περ χαρίεσσαν προῖδεῖν ὥραν
 Καὶ καλλιχόρους ἀοιδὰς,
 Φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους.
 "Ἴθι μοι, πότνια, πόλιν
 Τάνδ', ἐχθρὰν στάσιν εἶργ' ἀπ' οἴκων,
 Τὰν μαινομένην τ' ἔριν †.

"O Peace, fruitful Peace, the fairest of the happy, I am wearied waiting for thee! I fear lest old age may overwhelm me with sorrow before I can behold thy gracious

* Hist. de Regno Siciliæ, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vii.

† Stobæi, ii. 401.

countenance, and hear thy love-crowned choirs and thy dulcet strains. Come to me, beloved, and ward off from this city hostile rage and mad contention." If the lovers of the beauties of nature had thus peculiar reasons for detesting war, those who were devoted to learning had also theirs. Indeed the consequences of war to men of studious and philosophic life seem to be regarded by Plato as the most calamitous of all, as depriving men of the leisure which is necessary for contemplation *; and in the same light they appeared to the learned of the middle ages. Let us hear the lamentations of Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham and chancellor of England, in the time of Edward III. "O Almighty Author and Lover of peace," he exclaims, "dissipate the nations wishing wars, which more than all kinds of pestilence are injurious to books. For wars wanting the judgment of reason, make furious aggressions, and not using the moderation of reason without any discernment or distinction destroy the vessels of reason. Then Apollo is subject to Pluto; then wisdom is reduced under the power of phrenzy. Then winged Pegasus is shut up in the stable of Corydon, and Mercury perishes. Then Minerva is slain with the sword of error, and the sweet muses are seen oppressed under a morose tyranny. O cruel spectacle, when Aristotle, to whom the Lord of dominion has committed dominion, bound by wicked hands, is beheld carried out from Socratic houses; and he who deserved to obtain empire over emperors, by the unjust right of war is subjected to a vile scoffer. O iniquitous power of darkness, which fears not to cast under foot the divinity of Plato, who alone was worthy in the sight of the Creator, before he had appeased the chaos of war and strife, and had induced continuity to propose ideal species, to demonstrate the world's archetype, and to trace the sensible world from the supernal example. O tearful sight, when moral Socrates, whose acts were virtue and words doctrine; who from the principles of nature produced the justice of policy, is beheld enslaved by a vicious wretch. Then we weep for Pythagoras, the parent of harmony; then we pity Zeno, the prince of the stoics, who rather than betray counsel, bit off his tongue and spat it in a tyrant's face. Alas! we cannot sufficiently lament with adequate

* Phædo.

mourning each of the books which in different parts of the world have perished by the calamity of wars. Who would not shudder at the thought of such holocausts as have been offered, when devouring flames have consumed so many innocents in whose mouth was found no guile, and so many treasures of eternal truth? We are scattered abroad through foreign countries; we are torn and horribly mutilated; we are buried under the earth; we are cast into the sea, and destroyed by every mode of destruction. How many of us, by Theodoric, during the exile of Boethius, were dispersed through different climates like sheep without a shepherd! Truly infinite are the losses of books which have ensued from wars. Therefore, since we cannot adequately deplore them, here let us cease, and only beseech the Ruler of the world to establish firm peace and to remove wars, that the times by his protection may be tranquil*."

Let us hear another of these men, who, on similar grounds, detested war. "If I were all tongue, holy Father," says Marsilius Ficinus writing to Pope Sixtus, "I could not express with what joy I heard of God having appointed you for our pastor; for I hoped that when the highest power was joined to the highest wisdom, that golden age predicted by Plato would return. Alas! my joy is changed into sorrow. Who would have thought that under so wise a pontiff, not a golden, but an iron age, would succeed? An iron age has returned. I see nothing but arms fabricated for destruction; I hear of nothing but the sound of arms, the sound of horses, the thunder of bombardments. I observe nothing but weeping and rapine, and flames and slaughter†."

Pericles said that for those who have a choice, and who can prosper otherwise, it is a great folly to make war‡. Christian teachers in ages of faith went farther; and, heedless of the promised gain, they pronounced it to be a crime. Hereafter we shall see what were their distinctions. At present I shall only remark that penance was formerly imposed on all who had been in battle, even though it were just§. "By the ancient canons," says Chardon, "those who had borne arms in a just war were irregular, as well as those who occasioned the death of a criminal,

* Richardi de Buri Philobiblion, c. vii.

† Epist. lib. vi.

‡ Thucyd. ii. 61.

§ Thomassin. III. ii. 70.

whether as parties or judges; for, though there was no crime, there was something contrary to the gentleness of the church, which abhors blood*. Grotius remarks that with the Greeks the canon was long observed which excluded for three years from communion those who had slain an enemy in any war whatever†. Even in the west, in the Penitential of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, we read, "If any one should kill a man in a public war, let him do penance during one year‡." By a council held in 923, in the diocese of Rheims, a penance was imposed on all those who had fought in the battle of Soissons, between Charles the Simple and King Robert. The danger of rushing into a fixed eternal condition out of the very flames of rage and hate, explained such discipline to which the consciences of men, in ages of faith, gave many signs of responding, without the distinction which some moderns ascribe to them who think they calmly saw slaughtered the nameless people, the "multam sine nomine plebem§." The Chronicles of St. Denis relate that Sisebode, the great warrior and king of Spain in the seventh century, who conquered Catalonia, used sometimes to evince marvellous great pity when his hosts hewed down knights and people. He used to call out to the enemy to put themselves under his protection, or to save their lives by flight; and then, with deep sighs and great lamentations, used to say, "Alas! how unfortunate I am that during my reign there should be such a slaughter of people, and so great an effusion of human blood||!" Bauldry de Cambray relates that after the check at Soissons, when the emperor sent to Lothaire to ask him to fix a field for battle, Geoffroy, Count of Anjou, vassal of Hugues-Capet, cried out that the two kings might fight in single combat for the empire, in order to prevent so many men from slaying each other for their quarrel. Edward III., in his letter to King Philip of Valois, expresses his repugnance at the thought of the consequences of the contest between them, of the destruction of the people of the country, which, he says, every good Christian should shun; and to avoid shedding the

* Hist. des Sacramens, tom. v. c. 4.

† De Jure Belli ac Pacis, ii. 24.

‡ Fulberti Carnot. Opera, p. 167.

§ Æneid. ix. 343.

|| Liv. v. c. 7.

people's blood, as the quarrel is personal between them, he offers to meet him either in single combat or with only an hundred knights on each side *. The terms of the treaty procured three years later by means of the cardinals, are, "that it is granted through reverence for the church, and in order to spare the subjects of the two kings." Even under the terrible dynasty of the Merovingians the same concern for the common danger breaks out; for when the armies of Chilperic and Goutran were about to engage, we read that it was some good men who had compassion at the perdition of the people who laboured to make peace between the two kings †.

In the Romances of Chivalry these scruples are ascribed to the most warlike. Thus in the book of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, the chiefs challenge each other to single combat: "In order," say they, "that no more of our people may be slain on either side, let us fight singly ‡." And again, when the Count de St. Pol challenges Ferrant, Count of Flanders, we read that they agreed to fight together, "in order that the people on neither side should be any longer butchered §."

Edward III. before making war with Philippe de Valois, caused to be read in the churches a circular stating what efforts he had made in vain for the sake of peace ||. He might well be alarmed at the doubts around him, though it was easy to make his cause appear just or plausible. Gerson, in a dialogue between a French and an English knight, has shown how well they were founded. To the question indeed of the former, "are you contrite and penitent for the impieties and execrable homicides committed by you against the French?" he makes the latter reply "no," and defend his negative by the assertion that it was a just war; but the proofs which he then adduces to the contrary, could not have been unremarked at the time. But must I not obey the king? asks the English knight, to whom the other replies; it is an unjust war, founded, instigante diabolo, in the lust of rule and in the pleasure of subduing Christians: it is against the counsels and against the beatitudes written by the finger of God. All your people

* Chroniques de St. Denis, an. 1340.

† Id. liv. iii. 17.

‡ Le Livre de Baudouyn, c. 6.

§ Id. 78.

|| Michelet, Hist. de France, iii. 298.

should protest against such wars, and because they do not, they are guilty of obeying man rather than their Creator." "But you say this," continues the other, "because you are a Frenchman, and wish to discourage the English." "I say this," concludes his adviser, "because I fear God, who is truth, and not the persecutors of my country *."

Towards the close of their lives, these doubts and scruples became really troublesome to the authors of such tragedies. Lucan represents Cæsar after his victories feasting with oriental luxury, and spending half the night in proposing questions of philosophy. "O sage devoted to sacred things, tell us," he says, "the origin of the Pharian nature, the site of its territory, the manners of its people, the rites and forms of the gods, and whatever is inscribed on ancient temples. Always in the midst of battles I have had leisure to contemplate the stars and the heavens; and such is my love for truth, that there is nothing I so much wish to discover, as the source of the Nile so long concealed."

The questions which occupied the minds of warriors in the middle ages after their victories, were not exactly of this kind. Such tranquillity after causing the death of men was no longer possible. It was not the difficulty of discovering the source of the Nile that troubled them, but that of finding oceans that could wash out the spot—the damned spot that mocked and tortured them in their glory.

What a sense of the criminality of wars was evinced by William the Conqueror on his death-bed, when he made that long discourse on his own life from childhood, to the friends who stood around him in the abbey of St. Gervais! As the noise of a populous city incommoded him, he had caused himself to be carried without the walls of Rouen to this convent, on a hill towards the west, which duke Richard his ancestor had given to the church of Fecamp, and it was here that, attended by Gislibert, Bishop of Lisieux and Gontard, Abbot of Jumiege, with some physicians, he breathed his last †.

* Dialog. inter Francum et Angl. Opera, tom. iv.

† Orderic Vitalis, Hist. Norm. lib. vii.

“ ——— Seros, et non nisi tantum
Ut doleant, oculos aperit Fortuna tyrannis.”

At the siege of Brionne, Gilbert du Pin commanding the assailants, was mortally wounded in the head by an arrow. Recovering for a moment from his swoon, he cried out terribly to those who stood round him, “ Wretched, wretched men, what is it you do? Why waste your time? Why attach yourselves to the vanities of the world, and forget the things which are truly salutary and durable? If you knew the miseries and torments that you deserve for living ill—if you were to see the horrors of which I have been a spectator during the last hour, certainly you would esteem as worthless all the goods of this perishable world.” With these words, and while endeavouring to add others, speech failed him, and this illustrious knight expired *. Doubtless too the impression was profound and often productive of great effect, with which men heard related the visions granted to different persons revealing the doom of warriors who had desolated the earth through avarice, or the love of glory. Such was that recounted of the fiery torments inflicted on Lewis the Landgrave, when after death he was seen emitting from his eyes and nostrils sulphureous flames on drinking from a cup presented to him by demons, and finally with an ironical welcome made to descend into the bottomless pit which was uncovered for his reception †.

Such again was the terrible account which Peter the Venerable gives. A gentleman named Humbert, son of a Seigneur named Guichard de Belioc, in the diocese of Macon, who had become a monk in Cluny, having made war against other Seigneurs in the neighbourhood, Geofroi d’Iden was slain in battle. Two months after this, Geofroi appeared to Milon d’Ansa, and prayed him to tell Humbert de Belioc in whose service he had lost his life, that he was in torments for having assisted him in an unjust war, and that he begged him to have masses and alms offered for him. Milon performed the commission; Humbert was terrified; but he continued to make a bad use of the fortune which his father had left him. After some time in broad day-light, Geofroi appeared to him,

* Id. lib. viii.

† Cæsar Heisterbach. illust. Mirac. et Hist. Memorab. lib. xii. 2.

armed cap à pie, showed him his mortal wound, reproached him for his neglect, and warned him not to go to the war with Count Amedée. Humbert from that day changed his conduct, and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Peter the Venerable heard this history in great detail, as having occurred the year in which he went to Spain *.

“About the time,” says an old writer, “when king Philip was at enmity with Cologne on account of Otho, a certain John the Dane laid waste the province. When he came to die, he cried out to those who stood near him, ‘Give me a sword, that I may drive off that black Moor.’ ‘We see no one,’ said they, ‘invoke God.’ The despairing wretch replied, ‘What could He do for me if I did?’ ‘Much,’ they answered. ‘Then,’ said he, ‘if you can, O God, help me;’ and with these words he expired. I fear such a weak and extorted invocation profited him but little†.” Remorse for having taken part in wars was a fruitful source of conversions to a religious life, as is attested by all monastic history. Many a successful warrior wished, like the Homeric hero, that he had never gained such victories :

ὤς δὴ μὴ ὄφελον νικᾶν τοιῶδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλῳ.

Od. x. 548.

Adolphus and Everhard, brothers and counts of Castro Abzena, in 1133 were in the expedition of the Duke of Limburgh against the Duke of Brabant, in which so many fell on both sides. Everhard, though he had slain no one with his own hand, was yet touched with extreme grief; so that on returning to his castle with his knights and soldiers, being full of compunction for the perpetrated sins, in order to satisfy God, he made a holy resolution, changed his clothes, and in the dead of night escaped unseen, and set out for Rome: after visiting which he went as far as St. James, in Galicia; whence returning he came to Deildorf, belonging to Morimond, where for a long time he lived as a hired swine-herd, till he was at length discovered by two of his old

* Bibliothec. Cluniac. i. c. 7. Dom. Calmet, *Traité sur les Apparitions*, tom. ii. 171.

† Cæsar. Heisterbach, lib. xi. 52.

companions in arms, who recognized him by a scar on his face. After becoming a monk at Morimond, his brother Adolphus gave him his castle of Aldenberg, in the diocese of Cologne, where he founded an abbey, which was supplied with monks from Morimond*. It was a similar conviction that caused Simon, Comte de Crépi, in 1077 to embrace the monastic life. Young, rich, and powerful, his conscience was alarmed at the act of his father Radulf, who had unjustly seized the city of Mondidier, where he was buried. Having consulted the pope, he was told to remove his father's body elsewhere, and to have mass said for his soul. In complying with this injunction, the sight of his father's body struck him with horror. "What is this my father who has subdued so many castles?" He removed it to the monastery of St. Arnoux, at Crépi, where he then took the habit. Of him an old Romance testifies,

" Ains vous veuil amantoivre de Simon de Crespi
 Qui le Comte Raoul son pere defoui,
 Et trouva en sa bouche un froit plus que demi
 Qui li rougoit la langue, dont jura et menti.
 Li cuens vit la merveille, moult en fut ébahi,
 Est-ce donc mon père qui tant châteaux brouis,
 Ja n'avoit il en France nul Prince si hardi,
 Qui osa vers li fere ne guerre ne Estre.
 Dedans une forêt en essil s'enfoui,
 La devint charbonners: y tel ordre choisi †."

In 1266, when Paganinus de la Turre was slain, the party of the Turriani in revenge put to death their prisoners of the party who had slain him. Napus de la Turre, who was then lord of Milan, not being able to prevent that cruelty, after all his efforts to oppose it, fled from Milan, weeping and exclaiming, "Woe, woe, I fear that the blood which has been shed this day, will be on my head, and on my children ‡."

When the Lord Canis the great of Verona came to die, he consigned to the Venetians 100,000 florins as restitution for whatever he had unjustly seized in

* Notitiæ Abbat. ord. Cistertiensis per universum orbem, lib. ii.

† Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. vii. 451.

‡ Annales Mediolanens. c. 38. ap. Muratori, tom. xvi.

war*. In synodial statutes of the year 1247 we read that no alms can be given from rapine; but that with a view to restitution, soldiers must be advised to make great and spontaneous alms, clothing the poor, and endowing churches, "and what is still holier," say these fathers, "giving, or rather returning, to such persons as have been injured †." Down to very late times the Catholic instruction relative to war produced memorable effects. Many years before his death, the Prince de Conti sold his possessions, in order to repair the injuries caused by his army ‡.

Thus did the Catholic religion revive and strengthen those sentiments implanted in the human heart, or those unextinguishable traditions of the divine law, to which Homer was not insensible, when, at the close of the *Odyssey*, he seems to evince a certain melancholy, not without remorse, for having so often sung of war; since he makes Minerva herself thus address Ulysses :

**Ισχεο, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος ὁμοίου πολέμοιο,
Μήπως τοι Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.*
xxiv. 541.

In those solemn verses which were to express his last desire, the poet represents Heaven as wearied with human wars, and anxious to confer peace on men. "Let us consign to oblivion," says the highest voice he had learned to invoke, "the slaughter of sons and brethren, and let there be the abundance of wealth and peace."

* Hist. Cortusiorum de Novit. Paduæ, vii. 10. ap. id. tom. xii.

† Statut. Eccles. ap. Martene, vet. Script. vii.

‡ Testament du Prince de Conti, Paris, 1666. Réparations des dommages causés par la guerre, ap. Monteil, Hist. des Français, viii.

CHAPTER III.

WE had occasion to remark in relation to the thirst for justice, that the love evinced by men in ages of faith for the offices of the church, was an indication of their desire of peace. Here we must observe more direct proof of what we then inferred, and at this turn, let him who would conceive what history can never adequately tell, imagine that he enters that dunnest gloom or night unglorious, through which journeyed Dante; and that straight he hears voices, and each one seems to pray for peace, and for compassion to the Lamb of God that taketh sins away; their prelude still is "Agnus Dei," and through all the choir one voice, one measure runs, that perfect seems the concord of their song*.

This supplication of the suffering was that also of the militant church, which daily offered it as now with sighs and tears, and by the light which this reflection casts on history, we can catch a glimpse for an instant at the immense multitude of the pacific men who in the middle ages were existing upon earth; for as many as were joined in spirit to the church, were united with her in this ardent and insatiable desire of peace. How do we know that the Catholic church, which the holy fathers call the house of peace, was so profoundly attached to peace? From a simple review of her liturgy: for in the first place, her great daily sacrifice itself was nothing else but the mystery of peace, the pledge of future and eternal, the diffusion of present peace to man. At this holy and tremendous celebration in which God hath given peace reconciling the lowest with the highest in Himself, the good of temporal peace was also formally invoked, at the Gloria, at the *Te igitur*, at the spreading of the hands before the consecration, at the *Libera nos*, at the salutation of the people, at the *Agnus Dei*, at the three prayers which follow it, and in the prayer for the king; for, as the

* Purg. xvi.

apostle assigns the reason for the latter, "that we may lead a secure and peaceable life," so with that intention the holy church prays for all rulers, even for such as are transgressors of the Divine law * ; which intention is formally expressed in her solemn litany where she prays that kings and Christian princes may have peace and true concord, and all the people peace and unity. The innumerable priests, who celebrated throughout the earth, knew that the inestimable price of the world, and the great Victim for the salvation of men, could only be immolated in a spirit of peace, and with a contrite heart ; and that, as Peter of Blois says, it is never lawful to offer it without that preparation †. Ought a man to approach the altar who is excited against another, not so as to wish to injure him, but so as to be glad that he may be injured by another ? Ought he to wait, you ask, until the excitement be passed ? "Never may it happen to me," replies St. Bernard, "to approach the sacrifice of peace when disturbed, or with danger to participate in the sacrament in which God reconciles the world to Himself ‡."

St. John Chrysostom, being unable to reconcile two persons at variance with each other, was somewhat vexed at their obstinacy. This was only an effect of his zeal and charity ; yet he did not attempt to celebrate the Divine mysteries, or communicate on that day. In order to teach men always to possess their hearts in peace, and bear in mind this mystery, it was the custom to wear an image, called the Pax, next the bosom. In the office of the regular Hours the same desire is expressed ; for, at matins, at that "most sacred time of quiet hours," the lips are opened to the voice of psalmody, which is to finish with the day ; and, as St. Augustine says, "the psalm is the tranquillity of souls, the harbinger of peace, restraining the perturbations and the flood of thoughts, repressing anger, reducing to concord the dissentient, reconciling enemies ; for who would ever count him an enemy with whom he had sung to God that one great

* Hugonis Floriacensis de Regia Potestate, lib. i. 4. ap. Baluze Miscell. ii.

† Petr. Blesens, Epist. lxxxvi.

‡ De Præcepto et Dispensat. 19.

voice of the psalm *?" At Lauds the church sings of that oath to Abraham, "a pledge that, delivered from the hand of our enemies, we may serve God without fear, and have our feet directed in the way of peace;" at the sweet hymn of Prime, she prays to have the angry tongue restrained, lest there should be heard the horror of contention. "*Pacem et veritatem diligite,*" is then her lesson, and "*Dies et actus nostros in sua pace disponat Dominus Omnipotens,*" her prayer: at Tierce she prays for that charity which is synonymous with peace; and at Sext she sings:

"Extingue flammas litium,
Aufer calorem noxium,
Confer salutem corporum
Veramque pacem cordium."

At the ninth hour she announces that great peace which is for those who love the Divine law; and her vesper office closes with that commemoration of peace which is so familiar to all her children, praying that peace may be in their day; and that God, from whom are all holy desires, right counsels, and just works, may grant to his servants that peace which the world cannot give; that their hearts, being given to his commandments, and the fear of enemies removed, the times, by his protection, may be tranquil through Christ their Lord. At the complin office she prays for a quiet night and a perfect end, beseeches God to visit the habitation of her children, and send His holy angels to dwell in it, and guard them in peace; and then, in the words of holy David, commits them to Him, into His hands commends their spirit, places them under the shadow of His wings, and thus sweetly and divinely dismisses them to their rest. "According to Plato," as St. Clemens of Alexandria remarks, "the greatest prayer is that for peace †." We may conceive then from this one observation alone, what would have been his judgment of the Catholic liturgy, and of our hallowed domes wherein such orisons ascend. But every thing in the church was intended to express the desire of peace. The mere ceremonial to a mind susceptible of the beauty of order imparted a solemn and

* In Psal. En. Prol.

† Stromat. ii. 5.

delicious calm. John the Deacon, in his life of St. Gregory, says that the Gregorian chaunt was substituted in Gaul for the Gallican, because the latter, so far from inspiring in the hearers a religious serenity, only excited violent and disordered sentiments. That the object in making this substitution was attained, is attested by innumerable witnesses. Some declare that the mere intonation of the preface can often make their tears flow. Others, like the painters of the middle ages, repair to the assemblies of the faithful to find countenances breathing a divine peace. In effect, there we still find them. One time it is the angel, as in the painting of Guido, offering, with an innocent smile, the chalice to the Saviour; at another it is the deacon, as in that by Domenichino, of the last communion of St. Jerome. The very structures announced the good of peace; for, as St. Augustin says, "If these stones and beams did not cohere together in a certain order, and pacifically unite into each other, and, as it were, love each other, no one would enter them *." How many, in fact, might say with Chateaubriand, "I have often experienced, on entering a church, a certain appeasement of the troubles of the heart." "Factus est in pace locus ejus."

But who can worthily extol the language of those numerous collects, in which we pray that God would grant us to rejoice in a peaceful life in time, and to find the bliss of life eternal. On the second Sunday after the Epiphany, the words are, that "the almighty and eternal God, who rules celestial and terrestrial things, would hear with clemency the supplications of His people, and grant them peace during their times;" and towards the close of the year the same words are repeated. "May the Lord open your heart to His law and to His precepts, and may He make peace in your days. Creator of all things, God, terrible and mighty, just and merciful, grant us peace."

Traces of a sense of danger from present or impending wars occur repeatedly in the liturgy of the church, and I know of nothing more affecting than these indications of alarm associated with festivals of peaceful joy. A sense of the contrast between the internal kingdom of God, established in such multitudes of men,

* Serm. 336. in Dedic.

and the external world in which they found themselves, dictates many of the prayers. Thus, on the first Sunday of Advent, the church prays that God would not permit them to be subject to human dangers, to whom He gave to rejoice in the participation of Divine mysteries; on the second Sunday after the Epiphany, she beseeches God, who moderates things, both celestial and earthly, that He would grant His peace in our times; and, on the twenty-third after Pentecost, that those whom He admits to rejoice in Divine participation, He would not suffer to succumb to human perils. On the day of the Invention of the Cross the Church beseeches God, that the sacrifice, which she immolates to Him, “may deliver us from all the iniquity of wars.” In her solemn invocation of the Holy Spirit, which she repeats so often, she prays, “*Hostem repellas longius pacemque dones protinus.*” She prepares for festivals by supplicating the peace which is requisite for their celebration. Thus, on the eve of the Assumption, she prays for protection, in order that she may assist at the coming festival with joy: and, on the vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul, “that God may not permit us, who are consolidated on the rock of apostolical confession, to be shaken by any perturbations.” Indeed the ancient preachers remind men, that “they must, on the approach of every festival, purify their minds from all anger and ill-will*.” Hence, in 1211, after the burial of the Abbot John, when the community of Monte Sereno met on the Friday of the week *Lætare Jerusalem*, it was the advice of the prior, that the election of his successor should be deferred till after Easter, “lest, by chance, any discord should ensue that might trouble them in that holy time†.” Hardly a day of high festival occurs without her seeming to cast a look of terror at the citizens of Babylon and their wars. Witness the hymn of St. Michael:—

“*Angelus pacis Michaël in ædes
Cœlitus nostras veniat, serenæ
Auctor ut pacis lacrymosa in Orcum
Bella releget.*”

* *Sermo S. Maximi*, ap. Baluze, *Miscellan.* ii.

† *Chronic. Montis Sereni*, ap. Menckenii *Script. Rer. Germ.* tom. ii.

And that for All Saints, which alludes to the invasion of the Northmen :—

“ Auferte gentem perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut unus omnes unicum
Ovile nos Pastor regat.”

At the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin there is the prayer; that “ On whom her birth was a beginning of salvation, the votive solemnity of her nativity may confer an increase of peace.” On the feasts of her Conception and of her Visitation the same words nearly are repeated. When about to leave her temples to celebrate the procession of Palm Sunday, the deacons say, “ *Procedamus in pace.*” To whom her choirs answer, “ *In nomine Christi.*”

The first of the prayers on Good Friday is for the Holy Church of God. That God our Lord may deign to pacify, unite, and protect it throughout the entire world; subjecting to it principalities and powers: and that he may grant to us, leading a quiet and tranquil life, to glorify God the Father Almighty. Then follows the prayer for the most Christian Emperor, that God may render all barbarous nations subject to Him, to our perpetual peace; and that He would look down benignant on the Christian empire, that the nations which trust in their ferocity may be repressed by the right hand of His power.

In the office of Holy Saturday, when she lays aside her penitential vestments, and prepares to celebrate, with all the beauty of holiness, the glorious mystery of the Resurrection, still vigilant and forethoughtful in that hour of triumph, she prays Almighty God to grant her peace for the season of the Paschal joy: “ *Quiete temporum concessa, in his Paschalibus gaudiis.*” She prays that He would deign to grant to kings and Christian princes peace and true concord. At the Consecration of the Candle, she prays that all the clergy and most devout people, with the blessed Pope, and each bishop, may be granted quiet times in the Paschal joy; that God would please to vouchsafe the king a tranquil time of perpetual peace, and a celestial victory with all his people.

The vesper hymn, which closes the Paschal solemnities, indicates the same apprehensions :—

“ Quæsumus, Autor omnium,
In hoc Paschali gaudio
Ab omni mortis impetu
Tuum defende populum.”

At Pentecost again, in the vesper hymn, she prays that God may repel far from us the enemy, and grant us peace; that by such protection we may avoid all injury: and in that for Lauds of the same day she sings,

“ Dimitte nostra crimina
Et da quietia tempora.”

On the second day of Pentecost her words are “*ut quibus dedisti fidem, largiaris et pacem* ;” and again, “*Be present with thy people, Lord, and those whom thou hast imbued with heavenly mysteries, defend from hostile fury.*” Finally, when four Sundays have succeeded, and the summer season reigns, she prays “*that the course of the world may be directed by Divine ordinance pacifically for us; and that his church may rejoice in tranquil devotion.*” What must have been the feelings of men in the middle ages, since, as each thing to more perfection grows, it feels more sensibly both good and pain, when they repeated such prayers! and what echoes must they have found in the pacific hearts which only God and angels heard! History and the experience of all ages can attest how grounded were these fears. “*The Norman army,*” says Orderic Vitalis, “*passed the sea from the port of St. Valeri to conquer England during the very night when the Catholic church celebrates the festival of St. Michael the archangel*.*” Rigaud observes, that it was in the holy week of our Lord’s passion that Richard, king of England, besieged the castle of Chalus-chabrol, for the sake of a treasure found there, which he, through avarice and ambition, desired to possess; at which siege he was slain†. We find it related in old annals, as a remarkable felicity, that in 1038 the emperor Conrad, in the castle of Stella, pacifically, and without any molestation,

* Hist. Nor. lib. iii.

† De Gest. Phil. August. ap. Recueil des Hist. de France, xviii.

celebrated Easter *; and that in 1099 the lord pope celebrated Christmas in great peace †. The great Gerbert was not so happy always; for, writing to Arnulph, Bishop of Orleans, whom he styles the guardian of his soul, to whom God has given both faith and science, he says, after thanking God for having given him such a constant friend, who refuses to believe the probable but false things reported of him by his enemies, "This is thy gift, O good Jesus, who makest men to dwell with one mind in a house. Far from hence," he continues, "be all deceit: let peace and fraternity come hither, so that he who injures one may injure both. Under the protection of the power of Christ no tyrannic force shall deter me from this resolution: no, not the threats of kings, which in this Paschal festival we have so grievously endured ‡." In remonstrating with the enemies of order, the clergy used expressly to avow that they desired tranquilly for the solemn rites of religion. Thus St. Hilary of Poitiers said to an oppressive government, "suffer the people to follow their own pastors, that they may celebrate in peace the divine mysteries, and offer for your safety free prayers §." The church, however, in the middle ages, never thought of permanently suppressing her solemnities in consequence of persons wishing to disturb them; a danger to which they were always exposed. In general the civil authority lent its aid, as when King Henry II. wrote to the senechal of Lyons, to remind him that the procession of the approaching festival of Corpus Christi rendered precautions necessary to prevent the heretics from interrupting it ||. We may remark, too, that the joy with which a restoration of peace was received left traces in the Liturgy. Pope Gregory the Great, having procured a peace on the festival of SS. Gervaise and Protasius, decreed that the Introit on that day should be "Loquetur Dominus pacem ¶."

But it is not alone in the regular offices of the universal church that we find the desire of peace so fervently and

* Annales Hildeshemenses ap. Leibnitz Script. Bruns. illustrant.

† Baronius.

‡ Epist. 26.

§ Epist. ad Constant.

|| Paradin. Hist. de Lyon. iii. 32.

¶ Andreae Danduli Chronic. vi. 2. p. 13. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xii.

religiously expressed, with indications of the difficulties of maintaining it. We find many ancient local liturgical monuments which convey a similar testimony. The Litane of Hartmann, that used to be sung in the monastery of St. Gall, contains these lines :

“ Pacem perpetuam rogitamus, prospice, Christe,
Et sanæ vitæ gaudia longa diu *.”

In another, used by the same monks, we read :

“ Ætheris blandos facilesque motus
Frugis et largos remeare quæstus,
Regibus vitam, populisque pacem
Da Pater orbis.”

And in the hymn for the festival of St. Gall,

“ Temporum pacem, fidei tenorem,
Languidis curam, veniamque lapsis,
Omnibus præsta pariter beatæ
Munera vitæ.”

In some ancient collections we find the ritual of a mass for peace †. In a sacramentary which Martene found in the abbey of Vaublanc, at the prayer “ Hanc igitur oblationem,” there was added, “ which we offer to thee for peace and charity, and the unity of the holy church, and for all the Catholic people, for those who are in dissension and discord, that all may be recalled to charity and concord ‡: ” and in the archives of the canons at Modena there is a sacramentary of Gregory the Great, written in the ninth century, in which is found “ Missa contra tyrannos,” from which we may infer what was the ferocity of many feudal lords §. Celebrated in the middle ages was the antiphon Media Vita, which was sung to invoke the protection of God against the enemies of the church who disturbed the public peace ||. “ Media vita in morte sumus ; quem quærimus adiutorem nisi te Domine, qui pro peccatis nostris juste irasceris. Sancte Deus, sancte fortis, sancte et misericors Salvator amaræ morti ne

* Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. ii.

† Mansi append. ad Baluze Miscell. ii.

‡ Voyage Lit. de deux Bénédict. 40.

§ Murat. Antiq. It. diss. 46.

|| Gerbert de Cantu Sacra.

tradas nos." Such were the words of this hymn, of which the origin and history are remarkable. It was composed by Notker Balbulus, who, born of a noble family in Zurich, became a monk of St. Gall, where he attained to eminence by his learning, his skill in music and poetry, and his knowledge of the holy Scriptures. "No one," says the historian of that abbey, "ever saw him unless either reading, writing, or praying: he wrote many spiritual songs: he was the most humble and meek of men, and most holy. The faint sound of a mill-wheel near the abbey induced him to compose a beautiful air applicable to some pious verses; and the looking down into the deep gulph at Martistobel, and the danger incurred by some labourers in building a bridge, whom he saw working over the abyss, suggested to him the celebrated song of *Media Vita**." So far this old writer respecting the monk who composed it, who died in 912, and whose name was inscribed in the calendar of the saints by Pope Innocent III. So profound were the emotions inspired by this antiphon, that in the thirteenth century it was necessary to caution men against attaching to it a superstitious importance; for there was a disposition in some profane men to regard it in the light of a charm that could avert death, or cause the destruction of an enemy; so that in war it used to be sung by both sides with this intention, until the synod of Cologne, in 1316 †, declared that no one should sing it without the bishop's permission ‡. Down to very late times it used to be sung at St. Gall every year on the Monday in Rogation week during a procession to an awful spot in a valley between lofty mountains, where the river was crossed by a bridge; and the people were still inclined to credit a wild legend respecting its origin, which was deemed mysterious. The devotion of the forty hours prayer instituted by a poor Capuchin friar, Joseph of Milan, was another exercise especially designed for times of public danger or calamity. This exercise was in memory of the interval during which the body of our Lord rested in the sepulchre §.

Besides these general and local supplications at all times, history mentions many particular occasions when

* Ekehard Min. in vita. † Can. 21. Albert. Concil. German.

‡ Ildelfons von Arx Geschicht. des S. Gallen. i. 93.

§ Annales Capucinatorum, an. 1556.

God was solemnly invoked to grant peace. In 472 Sidonius Apollinaris celebrated the Rogations round the walls of Clermont, to obtain peace from the assaults of Euric. In a letter to St. Mamertus, he says, "It is reported that the Goths are in motion to invade the Roman territory, and it is always our unfortunate country which is the gate through which they pass. What gives us confidence in such peril is not our calcined ramparts, our worm-eaten machines of war, our battlements worn down by our breasts; but it is the holy institution of the Rogations which sustains us against the surrounding horrors*." Charlemagne, after taking counsel with his spiritual and temporal faithful, orders a fast of three days with abstinence from food and wine, till nones, at which hour all are to repair to the churches and sing the litanies; and among the causes which call for this is the continuance of war upon the borders of the Pagans†. Charlemagne, in a letter to his wife Fastrada, relating his victory over the Huns, says, "During three days we made litanies supplicating the mercy of God, that He would deign to grant us peace‡."

Let us hear the old historians speak. In 1260, on occasion of great cruelties, men began to lash themselves at Perugia, and thence successively on the way to Rome. Peace was then made between many at Bologna; and twenty thousand men came from thence to Modena, and lashed themselves, and peace was then made between all the Modenese, that is, between those of Gorzano, Rodilia, and Gomola; and from all discords and wars they universally ceased; and more than twenty thousand of the Modenese went to Reggio and Parma; and those two cities made peace with each other§. In 1260, says another, "The devotion of the flagellants prevailed in Lombardy. Then hermits came forth from their caves, and entering cities, preached the Gospel. The citizens of Asti, with the bishop and clergy, went in procession, and, kneeling down in the public places, cried with a loud voice, 'Misericordia et pax nobis fiant.' In those

* Epist. vii. 1.

† Ap. Martene, vet. Script. coll. tom. vii. 23.

‡ Ap. Duchesne, Script. Franc. ii. 187.

§ Annal. vet. Mutinensium, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xi.

days many discords were appeased *.” “All the people of Parma,” says another, “great and small, with the consuls and the Lord Podesta, went in these processions, and peace was made between those who were at war †.” In 1261, says another, “by means of the devotion of the flagellants, who went about crying, ‘Pax, pax!’ many enmities and wars, both new and old, in the city of Genoa, and throughout all Italy, were appeased, and exchanged for peace. Many who had committed homicide when they went against enemies, placed now their naked swords in the hands of their enemies, in order that they might take vengeance on them if they chose; but these foes threw the swords on the ground and prostrated themselves at the feet of their enemies, weeping, so as to move all who beheld them to piety and exultation of heart ‡.”

Another writer says that “the tyrants of cities, by edicts and fines, put a stop to this devotion of the people §.” Philip de Valois opposed it in 1349 in France, where, according to the *Chronicles of St. Denis*, there were as many as eight hundred thousand who practised it, amongst whom were many great men and gentlemen.

But there are still more admirable examples. Dante seems to have had a soul prophetic when he says, “I marked a tribe that walked as if attendant on their leaders, clothed with raiment of such whiteness as on earth was never ||:” for let us hear what Italy beheld seventy-seven years after his death. In 1398, says an ancient writer, “there was in Italy and other Christian nations a certain wondrous movement of religion and ceremonies called ‘the whites.’ This began in the kingdom of Granada, where a number of men and women clad in white linen went processionally through cities and towns, singing canticles and praying to God for the safety of the human race, and at intervals kneeling down vociferating “*Misericordia Dio, misericordia.*” This devotion spread through all Spain, thence into Gaul

* *Chronic. Astense*, c. i. ap. id. tom. xi.

† *Chronic. Parmense*, ap. id. tom. ix.

‡ *Jacob. de Voragine Chronic. Januens.* p. xii. c. 6. ap. id. tom. ix.

§ *Chronic. Francesci Pipini*, lib. iii. c. 36. ap. id. tom. ix.

|| *Purg.* 29.

and England and Germany, and to other most distant regions, with an incredible similarity of ceremonies. It was on the 1st of September that four of the company of the whites, in that habit, came to Ferrara, who were received with admiration and devotion, because the fame had arrived before them; and on the 2d, which was Sunday, one of them preached in the great church, and explained the cause and manner of the institution, and related the miracles which had occurred in Spain. There were more than four thousand persons at the sermon; after which a procession was made through the city, with all the clergy, and a multitude of the people of both sexes, and even of children, all clad in white. On the 8th of September, which was the feast of St. Mary, the illustrious lord marquis of Est, with his consort the Lady Ziliola, and all the courtiers and nobles, with the bishops of Ferrara and Modena, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, and many other prelates, and all the clergy, assisted in the procession, clad in white. Going out of the town, they went in order to the suburb of Belflora, followed by an immense multitude; and there, in an open meadow, the bishop of Modena preached, and the numbers were about thirteen thousand. On the following days there were similar processions within and without the city to different churches. After which the said four persons departed to Padua and into the marshes of Trevisa, and to the province of Friuli, instituting everywhere the same ceremonies; and by these means many reconciliations were made, and all kinds of enemies brought to concord and peace*.”

Another ancient writer thinks that this devotion first began in Ireland or Scotland†. It is curious to hear how the learned Leonardus Aretinus speaks while lamenting the cause which led to these processions. “At this time there was no rest from war. All works were martial. Louis of Anjou now came into Italy, and at his coming the Florentines and people of Arezzo were alarmed. In the dreadful night when our city was taken, that most cruel of all the nights, I can remember, my father was cast into prison with John, Bishop of Arezzo, and other great

* Jacob. de Delayto *Annales Estenses* ap. Muratori *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xviii.

† *Annales Forolivienses*, ap. id. tom. xxii.

men of the side opposed to the conquerors ; but because I was a boy, they placed me, not with the other captives, but in a more decent chamber, in which there was a picture of Francis Petrarch, which I daily gazed upon ; and I was inflamed with an incredible ardour for his studies. Shortly after the departure of the French there was a wonderful movement of the people, for all the multitude put on white, and with certain penitential exercises proceeded to the neighbouring cities, crying peace and mercy. Truly it was an admirable and incredible thing. The peregrination lasted generally ten days, and the fast was on bread and water. No one was seen in the cities otherwise clad. There was free access to all towns, though but lately hostile. No one then attempted any kind of deceit or oppression. There was a tacit understanding between enemies to keep peace. The movement lasted about two months. Wonderful was the hospitality and benign entertainment then exercised by all cities one with the other. Whence this began is obscure. From the Alps it came into Cisalpine Gaul ; and the people of Lucca were the first to come to Florence. At the sight of their procession the Florentines were seized with ardour, and they who before derided what they heard, were the first to put on white ; and, as if impelled by God, joined the processions. An innumerable multitude of the Florentines proceeded then to Arezzo, and others went to other places ; and wherever they came, the people of the place did the same*.”

Let us hear a Dominican friar speak of this devotion. “In 1400, in the month of September, there was a wonderful event in Italy, for at that time multitudes of men and women clothed themselves in white, and went about carrying the cross or the standard of some saint ; and when the body of Christ was raised at the altar, they used to cry often, ‘Misericordia, misericordia.’ And I remember, while celebrating at the altar of St. James, that I was terrified at the novel kind of clamour. But they went processionally like brothers, some singing ‘Misericordia, Signor’ Iddio, non guardate al nostro errore,’ and others sung, ‘Stabat Mater dolorosa ;’ and thus each society had its song : and they fasted nine days, and some went barefoot. Some bishops and

* Leonardi Aretini Commentarius, ap. id. tom. xix.

some monks went with them to lords of states and castles too, and preached to them; and many were reconciled to each other, who had before been mortal enemies, and some bore candles in their hands; and they went thus, singing day and night: and coming from the mountains and other adjacent places, there were about twenty thousand persons in the great square of Friuli. And the same occurred in all other cities, excepting in the wise Venice*."

Let us hear another account. In 1399, on a Saturday, a company of men and women from Soncino Galerano, Anteriate, Fontanella, Covo, and Rumano, in number about 1300, clad all in white, came to Coloniola, singing litanies, and crying peace and mercy; and in that place the Lord John, lately a knight of Lord Baldinus, gave them abundant wine; and at the hour of vespers they came to the gates of the outskirts of Bergamo, and the citizens carried out to them meat and drink in abundance: and on the Sunday the priests who were among them celebrated an infinite number of masses without the gate of Oxio; and then an eloquent priest preached about the duty of making peace between Christians; and more than six thousand of the Bergomese came to this sermon; and he said that they ought to observe nine days, and then, being truly penitent and confessed, they should be absolved. He said that six thousand English and French had lately gone to Rome clad in white, with the same object. After hearing him, all the clergy of Bergamo, with the nobles, judges, physicians, and other good men, in great numbers, and with an infinite multitude of women, made a procession on Sunday to the church of St. Alexander the greater, and there after mass brother James de Urìo, a Dominican friar, preached, and on the Monday they made a procession to the village of St. Andrea to the church of St. Vincent, where another friar of the same order preached, and on the Tuesday there was a similar procession, and many masses were celebrated in the church of great St. Mary, and there preached brother Aloysius de Scalve of the order of Minors; and on the Wednesday the procession was to the villages of St. Stephano and of Oxio, and returning

* Fra. Hieron. Chronicon Foroliviense, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xix.

through Coloniola they entered the church of St. Stephen, and there, after many masses, brother James de Urio, the Dominican, preached. In the name of the eternal God, and of the blessed Virgin mother Mary, amen; and to their praise, and the glory of the blessed martyrs, Alexander and Vincent, I record and write that on this Wednesday, the 27th of August, a vast multitude of men and women of the cities and villages and district of Bergamo, assembled on the mountain of Fara in number ten thousand and more; and all unanimously cried out, "Peace and mercy." On that mountain many masses were said by the bishop of Milan and brothers James de Urio, Oprandinus de Cene, Petrus de St. Pelegrino, and Aloysius de Scalve, with certain brothers of the order of Hermits, and all the canons and clergy of the churches of St. Vincent and Alexander, and all the clergy of Bergamo; and there was a solemn sermon devoutly preached by the venerable brother John de Rumano, of the order of Hermits; and there were present John de Urio, Pantaleon de Roxiate, and Antonio de Barillis, judges, besides procurators and other good men and many noble women of the city, as the ladies Clement de Gronago, Franceschina de Lancis, Bona de la Sale, and others. Then they went in great order two by two to the village of St. Laurence, where they halted; and the Lord John de Castiliono seeing them, made proclamation by the public crier of Bergamo, that they must depart from that village, and move elsewhere for lodging; whereupon the company decreed to proceed to the Ponte S. Pietro, and there they rested; and that night they all spent in the territory of Ponte, and Curno, and Maragolda; and then the Lord John de Castiliono made proclamation that all banished persons might come securely to the said processions; and they came on this safe conduct; and the people of each village and parish carried its banner, of which there were more than forty; and then, on that mountain of Fara, peace was made between many citizens. On the Thursday the procession was made through St. Gervaise, and Capriate, and Brembato, and Gridignano; and peace was made between infinite numbers of the men of Bergamo and others: and on the Friday they passed the night at Pontita and the places about; and again many durable reconciliations were effected: and on the Saturday they remained in the same region, and made peace between great numbers, as for instance, between Salvinum, of

the castle of St. Gallo, in the name of his sons, who had slain Mazola of the valley of St. Pellegrino, and John of that valley, and other relations of the said Mazola : and on the Sunday the blessed company, which by this time was estimated at sixteen thousand persons, all clad in white, came to Lemen; where it remained also on the Monday and the Tuesday, making peace between an infinite number of persons; only that on the Monday two hundred of the company went to Zonio to make peace between the men of Ultra Agugia and those of Cornello, of St. John, and certain others of the communes of the valley of Brembana; and on the Wednesday the blessed company came to the mountain of Fara; and celebrated peace between many; and one most remarkable was that between Bertosolo and the brother of Bosellis, and their adherents, on the one hand, and John de Bosellis and his sons, and Patasellus and Lotta of Bosellis, and their adherents, on the other; and about nones on Wednesday they left the mountain, and went to pass the night in the territory of upper and lower Alzano and of Nimbo, making peace between multitudes; and on the Thursday the said company, which now amounted to twenty thousand persons and more, remained there and in the adjoining districts; and peace was made between those of Cumenduno and of Desinzano and their adherents, and of upper Albino on the one hand, and those of lower Albino with their adherents on the other; and on that day about one thousand of the blessed brigade went to Gazanica and Vertua, and made peace between many Guelphs and Gibellines. On the Friday, the blessed company, all clad in white, came back to the mountain of Fara; and it was about the eighteenth hour; and then peace was made between innumerable persons, and forgiveness was passed for all homicides, robberies, and injuries of every kind; and the sermon was preached by brother Aloysius de Scalve, of the order of St. Francis; and he dismissed the multitude with benedictions, and all returned to their habitations; and the said brother, in his sermon, said that every one of them ought to say a Pater and an Ave ever afterwards, in memory of the said blessed company, and in order that the Lord God might preserve a good and tranquil peace*.

* Chronicon Bergomense, ap. id. tom. xvi.

George Stella, who describes as an eye-witness the processions of the whites in Genoa in 1388, says that they began in Provence. He cites the "Stabat Mater" as a hymn then sung for the first time, and with stanzas which had especial reference to the desire of peace and order which then moved the people. Thus they sung:

"Alma salus advocata
Morte Christi desolata
Miserere populi,
Virgo dulcis, virgo pia,
Virgo clemens, O Maria,
Audi preces servuli."

Children of twelve years sung the alternate verses, the rest being chaunted in full chorus, and at the end of every three stanzas all joined in singing 'Stabat Mater dolorosa,' often falling on the ground, and with a loud voice crying thrice, 'Misericordia,' and thrice 'Peace,' afterwards repeating the Pater, and some short prayers in Latin. This devotion was practised all through the Genoese territory. In Pulcifera there had been most odious enmities, which were then suddenly appeased. In Genoa, goods which had been seized in times of war, were now restored to their rightful owners; many miracles occurred in and near the city. At Vulturo, a boy, who had been laid out dead for three hours, only without the paleness of death, whose mother then interceded, rose up sound and well, while the multitude were crying thrice 'Misericordia;' seeing which, many of the Genoese who had before derided the holy processions, were moved with zeal and the fear of God. It was on Saturday, the 5th of July, that they first entered Genoa from the valley of Pulcifera, being about five thousand persons. Some nobles who were then residing in their country villas, took leave of their families and joined the crowd, putting on white. Each church sent its clergy and its cross to the procession; thus they moved in order two by two. The citizens of Genoa stood still, looking on in great sweetness of spirit and contrition; and on hearing them cry out 'Peace and mercy,' many burst into tears. Passing through the city, they proceeded as far as the Basilica of St. Mary de Monte Bisanno, and afterwards returned home. On Monday, 7th of July, the archbishop having convoked the clergy in the cathedral, sung

solemnly the mass of the Holy Ghost, in order to prepare the minds of the citizens for the salutary gift of peace. That vast church could not contain the multitude. It is said that lights were seen in the air over the Basilica of St. Maria Coronata, and of St. Lorenza. On that day a vast crowd from the valley of Vulturro came to the city about nones, and the boy who had been dead was with them, whom they carried on their shoulders, as the people pressed too close in order to touch him. That night a boy who had been lame for six years, so that he could not walk without crutches, prayed to God that he might be healed as the other boy, and that night he recovered the use of his limbs. The citizens of Genoa went to confession, and demanded forgiveness one from the other. On Thursday the 10th of July, many received the Eucharist at the mass of the Aurora; after which all the citizens, the nobles, the delegates of the people, the matron, the virgins, the widows, the boys, and children, and servants, all in white, proceeded following the clergy to the cathedral, where was the Archbishop of Genoa, James de Flisco, on a horse, because through old age he could not walk, but the horse was covered with white; and then bearing the sacred relics, the whole procession moved on to the gate of the monastery of St. Thomas, and to that of St. John de Pavairano: the number may be estimated, since the whole population of Genoa was present; and between many peace was made; and as they passed along, the villages sent forth their inhabitants, girt with a cord. This was done by the people during nine days, exclusive of the Sunday, walking for a great part of the night; and during the whole time all labour was suspended as on Sundays. On one of these days the brothers of the order of Minors bore the relics of their church, and on another, the Dominicans carried theirs; and on the Sunday the laymen of the city, who were of the fraternity in memory of the flagellation of Jesus, made their procession. This devotion of the city spread along the eastern shore, so that in Clavari and Rapalli, where were most acute hatreds, that spiritual rite restored sincere peace to Gibelline and Guelph. These ceremonies ended on Saturday, and on the Monday following the people resumed their works. From Genoa this devotion extended to Pisa and to Rome. At Savona the townsmen refused to admit the procession,

until every one laid aside the white, for they feared some design against their town. At Venice the jealousy was stronger, so that the Dominicans, who wished to establish it, were even fined. At first John Galeazo, Duke of Milan, refused to allow it in some of his cities, through fear of a sedition; but when he fell sick, he permitted it, and the processions were made with great devotion of the people*.

The anonymous author of a Paduan Chronicle says, "this devotion so pleased the people, that many on their death-beds used to desire themselves to be clothed after their decease in the white habit, and carried to their graves by men similarly clad, which used to cause great compassion in the beholders;" and Muratori remarks that "this was the origin of the custom still prevalent in Italy, of clothing the dead in white†." I can find but one contemporary writer who speaks of it with disrespect, and his whole style is Pagan. He calls it "the new superstition which descended from the Alps into Italy." He expresses disgust at every one wearing white without distinction, of rustics and citizens, servants and masters, and at their sleeping in the open air like cattle; yet he does not charge them with a single fault‡. After what we have seen, methinks the reader may be left to form his own judgment of the modern historians who have dwelt upon these events with a view to expose the barbarism and ignorance of the middle ages.

The speedy effects of this supplication have led us to details, of which we shall see more hereafter. Let us retrace our steps, and enquire what was the kind of peace that the children of beatitude expected and obtained on earth.

* Georgii Stellæ Annales Genuenses ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xvii.

† Antiq. It. lxxv.

‡ Platinnæ Hist. Mantuanæ, lib. iv. ap. id. tom. xx.

CHAPTER IV.

“THE peace which is invoked for us by bishops, as the successors of the Apostles, in celebrating the sacred mysteries, when they say ‘*Pax vobis*,’ is not the worldly and uncertain, but the divine and eternal peace which our Lord bequeathed to his disciples, when he announced to them that ‘in the world they should have tribulations.’” So writes Florus in the year 840 in the reign of Charles the Bald, in his beautiful exposition of the mass*.

The sole good, according to the school, which the Prince of Peace has promised in this life to his disciples and to his elect, is peace, not of the body, but of the breast †, peace of heart — tranquillity! the sovereign object vainly sought in heathen schools of philosophic lore. With magic incantations Pythagoras of old was said to tranquillize the mind of mourners, and restore distempered bosoms to apparent peace ‡. Cicero speaks of certain chaunts and precepts which the adepts of that school used to deliver secretly in order to impart tranquillity §; to which Horace also makes allusion ||. These are the pomps of orators. What they sought is here, in the hearts of men in ages of faith—Peace. “A peace unsung by poets, and by senators unpraised, which monarchs could not grant, nor all the powers of earth and hell confederate take away.”

“Adversity,” says one of them, “is to every man according to his interior. The wickedness of one man cannot hurt another who remains innocent. If you are

* *Flori Magistri opus de exposit. Missæ*, ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect.

† *St. Thom. de Reg. Princ.* iii. 16.

‡ *Porphyr. de Vita Pyth.* 65.

§ *Tuscul.* iv.

|| *Ep.* i.

good, and simple, and devout, no one can take away your peace, unless you voluntarily resign it *."

"Although horrible thunder and lightning came from the throne," says another, "yet the seven lamps continued to burn tranquilly before it, and in the midst of the tempest were not extinguished. So no difficulty or terror can disturb the peace of holy men †."

The world, in the middle ages, was filled, as we have seen, with war and misery, while were fulfilling, as St. Thomas shows, the words of the Prophet, who said that of peace there would be no end; for he spoke of that interior tranquillity which those enjoyed who all the while sat, unappalled, in calm and sinless peace.

Let us hear how they explain this mystery. In a two-fold manner, according to Nicolas de Lyra, there can be peace in the mind—by human affection, and by divine affection, or by beatitude, which was a gift, creating a state of peace, and bearing its fruits. "Peace of beatitude," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "is when the mind, by charity, rests in the true good ‡." "In the love of God," says St. Augustin, "alone is rest, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived §." "It is God alone," says St. Thomas, "who can give quiet to the desires of man, and make him happy ||." Without an union with the sacred heart of Jesus never can peace and human nature meet. "This is the true rest of the heart," says Hugo of St. Victor, "when it is fixed by desire in the love of God; when it seeks nothing else, but is delighted with a certain happy security in Him ¶." Then cease the toils of the imagination, those wide-wandering errors which drove it round the world: the floods of passion, swollen with horrid woes, are calmed, love divine heals man's distraction, and with gentle hand soothes him to peace.

"Think that God and you are alone in the world," says another. "and you will have great rest in your heart **." He to whom all things are one, and who

* Thom. à Kempis Epist.

† Nieremberg. Doct. Ascet. lib. iv. iii. 26.

‡ De Pace Interna, i.

§ De Catechiz. Rudibus.

|| De Regim. Princep. 8.

¶ Erudit. Theol. Miscell. lib. i. tit. 171.

** Thom. à Kempis de Discip. Claust. c. vi.

refers all things to one, and sees all in one, can have a firm heart, and remain at peace in God *."

"A man will have no rest," says the Abbot Allois, "until he can say from his heart, I and God are alone in this world †." As St. Augustin says, "God cares for each of us as if He cared for him alone; and for all as for each ‡." Or, as St. Gregory says, "God has regard to each man as if He had no thought for all; and He has regard for all as if He had no thought for each §." "With a certain simplicity of purity," says Albert the Great, "imagine that you are alone with God, out of the world, as if your soul were already separated from the body in eternity, and, therefore, no longer concerned about secular things, nor caring for the state of the world, neither for peace, nor war, nor fine weather, nor rain, nor for any thing, but adhering only to God, and totally fixed on Him ||." "Cease to seek many things," says an ascetic: "join yourself to one: let others seek many and external things. Do you seek one internal good, and it will suffice to you. Behold, one man seeks a villa, another goes to his merchandize, another heaps up gold and silver, another desires pleasure and honour, another friends and relations, another delights in visiting his neighbours, another repairs to cities and castles, and, led by the desire of the eyes, traverses various parts of the world; another labours for wisdom, power, authority. Thus there are few who seek one thing purely and simply, therefore few there are who find peace ¶." Again, he says, "Between the hope of good and the fear of evil the secular and carnal heart continually fluctuates: because the anchor of hope is not fixed in a celestial desire, where all goods abound and perpetually endure;" "while others," as Dionysius the Carthusian says, "find that nothing is sweeter in the present life than to adhere, with a tranquil mind, to the Omnipotent God, the fountain of all excellence **,," not praying for what they wish, but for what He may choose to send, according to the sublime answer of Thymarida, of whom old philosophy so justly boasts ††, "You speak of what may happen,"

* Imit.

† Doroth. Doct. 7.

‡ Conf. iii. 2.

§ Mor. xxv. 19.

|| De adhærendo Deo, c. 8.

¶ Thom. à Kempis, Soliloq.

** De arcta Via Sal.

†† Jamb. de Pyth. Vita, 28.

says Marsilius Ficinus, "approve of whatever may follow, as done by God." Cardan says, "Whatever happened to me through life I knew would happen, yet saving free-will; and I never wished any thing to happen otherwise than it did. This alone grieves me, if I offend God in any manner, for he is the Author of all good, and this thought alone sometimes distresses me *." Thus one perceives that the lay philosophers of the middle ages held the same language. "There are two causes," says Cardan, "of the great misery of man; for when all things are vain and empty, man seeks something which is full and solid, and every one thinks that he wants that solid; and while he seeks, and does not find it, he is tormented; but much more, when having found what he sought, for he then knows that he has been deceived, and something else must be sought; for always there is something wanting, and so Augustus complained that he wanted friends †." "He alone has peace whose heart rests in God: all other men," he says, "float on a tempestuous sea, with their cargoes of riches, honours, magistracies, and acquaintance with princes ‡." "When the worldly mind," says Petrarch, "does attain to the object of its desire, still it cannot rest §." So exclaims the modern bard:—

"Alas, that love should be a blight and snare
To those who seek all sympathies in one!
Such once I sought in vain; then black despair,
The shadow of a starless night, was thrown
Over the world, in which I moved alone."

How unlike the Catholic poet, whom God, with secret vision, leads on to peace! "No," exclaims Michael Angelo, to one whom he loved, "it was not a mortal object which presented itself to my view when the serene splendour of thine eyes first shone upon me, and my soul hoped to find in them the peace of heaven, which is always its sole end ||." "Detached from the world, to seek a sweet calm in thee, O Lord, I come like a frail bark, long tempest-tossed. Thy thorny crown, thy wounded hands, thy benign, humble countenance, are a pledge to my troubled soul of an immense atonement,

* De Libris propriis.

† De Vita propria, lib. ii. 49.

‡ De Utilitate ex Advers. cap. i. 4.

§ Epist. ii. 12.

|| Sonnet ii.

and of its fruit, salvation *.” “No one,” says Hugo Victorinus again, “can be hurt or afflicted unless in that thing which he loves ; therefore, he who loves Him only, who can never be taken away, cannot in any way be injured †.” The one remains ; the many change and pass : cities and palaces are transitory—high temples fade like vapour—God alone remains, whose will has power when all beside is gone.

“Worldly men,” says St. Thomas, “who are not joined to God by love, have tribulations without peace ; but holy men, who have God in their hearts by love, although they have tribulations from the world, in Christ they have peace ‡.” All others only seek to blunt the keenness of their spiritual sense with narrow schemings and unworthy cares, or ‘madly rush through all violent crime to move the deep stagnation of their souls.’” St. Augustin speaks of one, who, being asked why he wished to become a Christian, replied, “On account of the future rest.” To whom he answered, “Thanks be to God. Brother, I congratulate you : that, amidst the tempests and perils of this world, you have thought about some true and certain security ; for in this life men, with great labours, seek for rest and security, but do not find them : for they wish to rest in unquiet things, which remain not ; and because these pass, and are withdrawn, they are agitated with fears and sorrows, which prevent them from having rest §.” “Believe me,” says St. Augustin, “it is good for us to adhere to God, to be attached to the Divine will. This is heaven out of heaven.” “Peace,” says St. Bonaventura, “is the state in which there is delectation in God, without efficacious contradiction from the flesh, the world, or the Devil ; therefore, peace is the state of the most purified souls, and, consequently, above all, the pacific are said to be sons of God ; for though mercy makes man most resemble God, as far as external works, yet peace more assimilates him, as far as internal works ||.”

What new sounds are these to men conversant only with the works of the philosophers, and what concord ! “One voice comes forth from many a mighty spirit, recall-

* Son. xxviii.

† Exposit. in Cœlest. Hierarch.

‡ Lect. viii. in Joan. xvi.

§ De Catech. Rudibus.

|| Compend. Theol. Veritatis, lib. v. c. 54.

ing the echo of primeval years, and the tumultuous world stands mute to hear it, as some lone man who in a desert hears the music of his home. Truth's deathless voice is heard among mankind; and though from multitudes there were no responses to her cry, though there were men to rise and stamp with blind fury on their pure names who loved them, still there were many who, at the summons, yielded up their hearts, and found peace."

After reading Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations*, or any other ancient treatise relating to the art of tranquillizing minds, if one takes up the Catholic works on the same subject, one experiences a most singular impression. The twentieth chapter of the third book of the *Imitation*, for instance, will then give rise to other reflections besides such as are merely pious: for it will be clear at once, from the contrast, that some great change has been accomplished in the world of thought. We should never think then of saying, that this is a writer of a superior school, and of a higher philosophy; for a conviction immediately ensues that some extraordinary fact has occurred in the intellectual world, like those revolutions which we find to have taken place in the physical structure of the globe. The transition is so sudden, the intervening space so immense, that one can only sink upon one's knees, as if one heard "the angel who came down to earth with tidings of the peace so many years wept for in vain, that opened the heavenly gates from their long interdict*." The Angel of the school in few words relates this fact. "At the opening of the side of Christ, there has been opened the gates of Paradise: his blood being shed, the stains are washed out. God is appeased, weakness is removed, sin is expiated, exiles are recalled to the kingdom†." Thus then according to the holy martyr Boniface, the blessed were pacific first by having peace established between themselves and God, observing what He prescribes, and flying from what He hates‡. "Conformity with Him," says St. Bonaventura, "is the first fountain of peace§," "without the dignity of which

* Dante, *Purg.* x.

† S. Thom. *opusc.* vi. 6.

‡ S. Bonifacii Mart. *Serm.* iv. de Octo Beatis. ap. Martene, *vet. Script.* ix.

§ *Dietæ Salut.* vii. 6.

peace," as St. Leo says, "there are only similarities of wicked desires and treaties of vices." "This peace," says Peter of Blois, "is followed by eternal peace, and the Lord gives both, as is written, Peace upon peace the Lord will give*." To the preservation of this actual peace between the mind and God, all other kinds of peace were directed; for hear what St. Bonaventura says, "it is a high degree of concord to agree with all men as far as one can, in order that all perturbations may be avoided. It is a still higher to agree with all men for the sake of one's own quiet, lest one should be afflicted in one's self. It is the highest to agree with all men, lest on account of disquietude of heart, God should be for a long or short time alienated from the man, or he from God. In all these degrees was Christ†." Here might be long delay to mark what peace resulted to the intelligence from the submission of the will to God. With what a tranquil heart does St. Bonaventura treat upon the awful mysteries of predestination and reprobation, and how clearly does he perceive that necessity is excluded‡! Be at rest is his conclusion, the present is thine own, and love and joy can make the poor heart become a paradise, where peace will for ever dwell. Rest from superstition was another fruit of being at peace with God. The letter of Peter of Blois to the friend who asked whether the fall of a certain master into a ditch of water, was not foreshown by his having met the monk William of Blois that morning on first leaving his house, is an excellent reply to those who imagine that men of the middle ages were unacquainted with this rest. He shows how Satan only attempts to destroy the peace of the heart by vain curiosity, and concludes with these words: "It is my opinion that master G. would have incurred the danger of submersion, although he had met with no monk on his way§." "The Christian law having forbidden us to observe omens, they have rightly grown obsolete," says Cardan||. Peace with the evils of life in general, was a grand result from this restored harmony between the soul and its Creator. "Verum tamen in imagine pertransit homo, sed et frus-

* Epist. xlvi.

† De Gradibus Virtutum, c. 19.

‡ Compend. Theol. lib. i. 29—31.

§ Epist. lxxv.

|| De Utilitate ex Advers. cap. ii. 5.

tra conturbatur;” “for his trouble,” adds John of the Cross, “can be of no use to him, so that a spiritual man is preserved from the misery of the world: for if the whole world were reversed, it would be in vain that man would vex himself, and the soul would receive more harm than good; whereas if it supported patiently all these disorders, it would learn to judge more justly of its adversaries, and to apply the remedy with more facility and success*.” “Yes,” says S. Gregory Nazianzen, “all that has occurred requires on our part courage, a great courage: who can doubt it, my dear Theodore? We have seen our altars profaned; our mysteries troubled; placed ourselves between the most sacred objects of our worship and those who assailed us with stones, we have found the only remedy for our wounds in prayer. The chaste shame of virgins, the modesty of monks, the misfortunes of the poor, nothing has been respected. Notwithstanding all this, what can we do better than have recourse to patience and gentleness, than give to our brethren a striking example of endurance and of peace?” Thus effective in Christians was the speculation of the ancient poet, who says that all is for the best, adding

Μάτην γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀζίωμα δαιμόνων ἔχω φράσαι †.

In no approved work of the middle ages, do we find any trace of the disposition to cavil at or “sadly blame the jarring and inexplicable frame of this wrong world.” Illustrious lord and complaining constable, is the salutation which Don Antonio de Guevara addresses to Don Diego de Velasques, constable of Castille, rallying him on his habit of filling his letters with complaints. There was always a stern monitor for the Catholic hero, if at any time like Achilles, he horribly groaned *σμερδαλέον δὲ ῥῳμωξεν*. “Why should we in our peevish opposition take it to heart?” was the reply. Fie! ’tis a fault to heaven, a fault to nature, to reason most absurd, whose common voice proclaims this must be so. Accordingly he is at peace with whatever God sends, and finds even “sweet the uses of adversity.” He knows, as Diony-

* Ascent of Mt. Carmel.

† Soph. Œd. Col. 1451.

sius the Carthusian says, "that there arises a beauty even from the evils and defects of nature in its present state * ;" and as St. Thomas says, "that God would not permit evils in the world, unless good resulted from them, to the utility and beauty of the universe †." "Malos pro Deo tolerare est superare," says Wipo to the son of the emperor Conrad, adding, "what will you not tolerate for Christ for you crucified ‡?" "Not the death of sinners is wished by the Most High, who wished to die himself for them," says Richard of Bury, "but that we should raise the fallen and correct the perverse in a spirit of gentleness §." "Whoever does not tolerate evil men," says St. Gregory, "bears witness against himself by his intolerance, that he is not good." "When we have not the power to correct," says St. Augustin, "we must tolerate." "Have a meek pacific heart for all men, whatever may be their offences," says St. Bonaventura, "for if you ought not to seek familiarity with a man on account of the deformity of his life, let not the evil which he has from himself so displease you, as to make you hate the good which he has now from nature, and which he will perhaps soon have from grace, for the vicious are often converted ||." But it was not alone the just who were tranquil under the hand that inflicted injury, we find in the middle ages that there was provision made for inspiring guilty men with a disposition to regard the sufferings which they underwent, as the earnest of a blessed peace which was for them as if personally prepared. By crime they were not so destroyed, but that the eternal love might turn while hope retained her verdant blossom. The rite of public penance for homicide in the thirteenth century, or the form of sending penitents to prison, shows that men who had committed crimes were at peace with the evils which were their punishment, and that the prison itself became a holy place, designed for spirits going on to blessedness. Let us hear the formula which was composed in 1220. "On the fourth feria in the beginning of Lent the penitent

* Dionys. C. de Venustate Mundi, 22.

† De Regim. Princip. i. 9.

‡ Ap. Martene Vet. Script. t. ix.

§ Philobiblion, c. 6.

|| De Institut. Novitiorum, c. xi.

who for homicide is to undergo imprisonment, ought first to receive penance for all his other sins from his parish priest. After this he is to come to the church with his confessor before the penitentiary, who is to ask him whether he has been to confession, and whether for that homicide he wishes to enter the prison; and then on his answering rightly, the penance is imposed in this manner. Through the whole of Lent, except on Sundays, he fasts on bread and water, and makes one hundred genuflexions, and says one hundred paternosters by day and one hundred and ten by night. To no one he must speak till the hour of tierce, nor after compline; nor must he wash his hands: the priest alone must give him food each day. He must sleep in his clothes, and upon straw. The prison being chosen, the penitentiary goes with him to the place, and on arriving before it the penitent lays aside his former dress, and all linen, and puts on a rough tunic and cap. Then the penitentiary asks him whether he is truly penitent for all his sins; and if he rightly answers, he tells him to cast himself prostrate on the earth before the prison, and say thrice ‘*Mea culpa peccavi, Domine, miserere mei.*’ After the third time the priest begins ‘*Deus, in adjutorium meum intende,*’ and says the seven penitential psalms, with the litanies and prayers. After this the priest sprinkles the prison with holy water, and incenses the whole place in every part with blessed incense. Then coming to the penitent, who still lies on the earth, he gives him holy water and incense, and then taking him by the hand, he leads him into the prison, and repeats this prayer, ‘*Commendamus tibi, Domine, famulum tuum in vita præsentis, ut ab omni malo eum eripias, et intercedente beata Maria semper virgine, cum omnibus sanctis ipsum ad vitam perducas æternam.*’ Then he admonishes him to give alms thrice of the bread brought to him, and let one loaf alone be of such quantity that with the residue he may be able to support himself*.” Alas! those who now endeavour to discover the best discipline for prisons, when disappointed of their aim, might learn somewhat from this passage, if they could be brought to believe that Heaven’s supreme decree can ever bend to supplication, and that love’s flame in a

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. lxxviii.

short moment all fulfils. “ In times of unreflecting violence,” says Michelet, “ of crime without depravity, pity was all on the side of the guilty. The old laws style him paternally ‘ the poor sinner *.’ ” The very word for him in old French signified the unhappy †. “ Great care must be taken,” says St. Gregory, “ lest the inordinate defence of justice should pass into pride, and so while rectitude is incautiously loved, humility, the mistress of rectitude, be lost ‡.” But to return to those of whom peace with God was the uninterrupted state. Of such men we may truly say that with the evils of this mortal life, in general, they were at peace—at peace with evil men, at peace with whatever Providence permitted. With the same tranquillity of heart, Sir Thomas More regarded the tyrant who condemned him to death, and the destruction of his property by the fire, in 1529, which he describes in his letter from Woodstock; so that the poet unconsciously does but express the Catholic mind, when saying,

“ Gentleness, virtue, wisdom, and endurance,
 These are the seals of that most firm assurance,
 Which bars the pit over Destruction’s strength.
 These are the spells by which to re-assume
 An empire o’er the disentangled doom.
 To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
 To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
 To love and bear, to hope, this is to be
 Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;
 This is alone life, joy, empire, and victory.”

With regard to the judgment of the middle ages, there can be no exaggeration here. St. Bernard has peace with abuses, and prescribes it to all superiors. “ Some abuses,” he says, “ may exist without involving men in censure: for some use all these things as not using them, and therefore with no offence, or as little as possible; and some do this through simplicity, some through charity, some through necessity, some simply hold this because it is prescribed to them, being ready to act

* *Origines du Droit*, xl.

† *Méchant*, in the *Chronicles of St. Denis*, is used for *mal chanceux*. Racine was the first to say, “*le bonheur des méchants*.” Paulin Paris. Note ad an. 1340.

‡ *Lib. Mor.* 25.

otherwise if it were otherwise prescribed; and some do so lest they should live discordantly with those with whom they dwell, following in these things not their own desire, but the peace of others; and others do so because they are not able to resist the multitude of contradictors who defend these things*.” Had the apostate of Erfurt followed the advice given him by Staupitius, who used to say when he complained of others, “*Abi in cellam et ora,*” he would not have had to say at the close of his life, “I am the enemy of the world, I know nothing in all life in which I have pleasure. I am quite weary of living.” But as St. Augustin says, the heretics have not peace. “For peace,” he adds, “forbids us to judge of things uncertain, like the hearts of others. Peace is more prone to believe well of men, than to suspect them. Peace orders us to believe well even of the evil; whereas heresy judges and condemns†;” “they hate peace,” he says again, “who separate themselves, saying that they wish not to mix with the unjust; but this is not our doctrine. They who humbly bear with the evil for a time, will come themselves to eternal rest; this is the Catholic voice. They say, Touch not the unclean,—be separate; and we say, Love peace, love unity. You know not those from whom you separate yourselves. Love peace: Christ is love, Christ who is our peace, and has made both one: how can you then be pacific, if when Christ has made one of two, you should make two of one‡?” Peace with the changes that occur in all human things was also formally inculcated. “It is a sign of the divine spirit,” says Cardinal Bona, “to follow those works, which are peculiarly accommodated to the age in which we live. For it is clear that a different mode of leading men to salvation is observed by God in different ages. Thus to go no further back than the Christian æra, at first it is by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost, then by martyrdom, then by the writings of doctors confuting heresy§.” As with the changes of the world, so with those of their own life, the silent work of years, men were then sweetly and unostentatiously at peace. We find no allusion to it in any solemn discourse

* De Præcepto et Dispensatione, c. 8.

† In Ps. cxlvii.

‡ In Ps. cxix.

§ De Discretionem Spirituum, c. viii.

of senators; as imparting a sad privilege. What a picture does Petrarch give of the last years of Garcius, who closed a holy life of one hundred and four years on his birthday in the same bed in which he was born, in the midst of a sweet crowd of children and grandchildren, speaking of God, and with his last breath saying, "in pace, in idipsum dormiam et requiescam! O with what delight," he exclaims, "have I lived with these old men! Who will feel displeasure at the thought of becoming old, when he remembers that such men were old, or rather who would not rejoice to resemble them even in their age! Let us struggle no longer against nature, but resign ourselves gladly to age and death*." In fact he invokes no impossibility, for with sickness and death, as we before incidentally observed, men in ages of faith showed themselves to be unfeignedly at peace. The Chronicles of St. Denis after describing the anguish and distress occasioned to Louis le gros in his last days, from the quantity of medicine ordered for him, add, "that all the time he was sweet and gentle, and amiable and kind, and that he received all as if he felt no ill†." The memory of their own meekness as evidence of their conformity, conduced to peace with death, for they could then truly say of themselves, "memento, Domine, David; et omnis mansuetudinis ejus." "Compare, I beseech you," says St. Ailred, "with all the riches, delights, and honours of the world, this one privilege of Christ's servants, they fear not death‡." The men in ages of faith who lived so much in temples, who received daily Christ as if in their arms, "who thus," as St. Ambrose says, "saw life, could not, as he argues, have seen death." "The death of Christ," as St. Bernard reminds the Knights Templars, "was the death of their death, because he died that we might live§." "Death," says Marsilius Ficinus, "is the end of dying." When John Bonvisia of Lucca, a Minor, was dying in 1472 in the convent of St. Mary of the Angels at Assisium, to the physician asking, "if he wished for any thing?" he replied, "nothing but death and God||." Thus was realized what the ancient poet fancifully said,

* Epist. lib. vi. 3.

† Ad an. 1137.

‡ Spec. Charitatis.

§ Exhort. ad Mil. Templi, 2.

|| Wad. an. Minor. tom. xiv.

"Pax illis cum morte data est *."

Therefore we read upon an ancient tomb,

"Parcite vos lacrimis dulces cum conjuge natæ
Viventemque Deo credite flere nefas †."

But we may go farther still, for as with death so with the grave itself, the pacific were at peace. There was peace with the tomb, because Christ had hallowed it by resting in it. O wondrous power of faith, to sweeten so that grim dwelling for the soul's poor partner! St. Bernard says, "that, among spots dear and venerable, the sepulchre holds a principal place;" and St. Cyrill of Jerusalem, citing Isaia, "erit in pace sepultura ejus," adds, "for by his sepulture he made peace between heaven and earth ‡." In a garden he was placed in the earth, that the malediction on Adam might be eradicated, and hence perhaps the cemeteries of the ages of faith were often spots of natural beauty. In the catacombs, the imagery is all designed to inspire cheerfulness,—we see only paintings of flowers and fruits: the tomb was made to wear an engaging and almost smiling aspect. "St. Denis, the church of tombs, is not," says Michelet, "a sombre and sad pagan necropolis, but glorious and triumphant, brilliant with faith and hope, vast and without shade, like the soul of the saint who built it; light and airy, as if not to weigh upon the dead, or hinder their spring upward to the starry spheres §." The fact that a remembrance of the holy sepulchre reconciled men in ages of faith to their fleshly vesture resting in the tomb, is indicated by that intense interest inspired by it, which appears in the writings of St. Augustin ||, St. Cyrill of Jerusalem, and Bede ¶; and in the popular opinion that the object of the crusades was to recover it, as when Gregory the monk of Casino and bishop of Terracina, entitled his poem, written in 1100, "De transitu Peregrinorum ad Sepulchrum Domini **." In order that so holy a monitor of peace with the grave might be

* Lucan ix.

† Catech. 14. de Resur. 3.

|| De Civ. Dei, xxii. 8.

** Italia Sacra, i. 1292.

† Aringhi Rom. Subter. 193.

§ Hist. de France, 11.

¶ Exposit. in Marc. iv. 16.

every where present, sepulchres were erected in churches in imitation of it. Thus we read that on the return of the Milanese from the holy land, they built in Milan a church resembling that of the holy sepulchre. Peter Adornes is said to have made three journeys from Flanders to Jerusalem, in order to give an exact copy of it, to serve as a model for the church of the holy sepulchre to be erected in Bruges. At Abbeville, on the spot where Godfrey of Bouillon and the crusaders assembled before going to Palestine, the beautiful church of the holy sepulchre was erected, in which was one of those tombs where the solemn office of the holy sepulchre used to be celebrated on the Sunday nearest to the 15th of July ; and such crowds of pilgrims used to attend, that tents were generally pitched in the cemetery to shelter them at their prayers. Similarly in the church of the holy cross in Torgau, was a holy sepulchre erected by the elector Frederic the Wise, in 1493, after the model which he had brought with him from Palestine *. Sometimes, as we before observed, the very soil of the holy city was added to show more palpably the sanctity of graves. In Sicily, as at Pisa, were cemeteries filled with the earth of Jerusalem †. Generally lights were burning to denote the immortal hope of those who slept in peace, and each grave was incensed as an altar, on which was laid the last offering of Christians. Who would feel horror at the tomb in which Christ had reposed ? No, each grave was a holy place, representing the end not of life and its enjoyments, but of death and of all dead, dreary things. Thus solemnized and softened, death and the grave were mild and terrorless, and as the serenest sky, redolent of joy and peace.

Such were the fruits of reconciliation between the soul and God ; from which divine and present source followed immediately the second kind of peace expected and enjoyed by men in ages of faith ; namely, peace with themselves within their breasts, for they found there nothing selfish opposed to the order of charity, having as the author of *The Imitation* counselled, “ relinquished themselves, resigned themselves, and

* Chronic. Torgaviæ ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq.

† Sicilia Sacra, ii. 813.

reaped in consequence a great internal peace*.” How sweet were the effects of such tranquillity is shown by Dante in these bright words :

“ As when to harbinger the dawn, springs up
On freshen'd wing the air, of May, and breathes
Of fragrance, all impregn'd with herb and flower ;
E'en such a wind I felt upon my front
Blow gently, and the moving of a wing
Perceiv'd that, moving, shed ambrosial smell :
And then a voice, ‘ Blessed are they, whom grace
Doth so illume, that appetite in them
Exhaleth no inordinate desire,
Still hung'r'ing as the rule of temperance wills †.’ ”

The maintenance of this interior peace was reduced to a science in ages of faith. Tasso speaks of the science of peace as a true science, by means of which men can pacify their minds and overcome the passions which lead to war †. This art was taught by many of the Carthusian order ; as by Dionysius, who wrote *de Gaudio spiritali et Pace interna*, and by Apselius of Breda, who wrote *de vera Pace* §, as also by other great mystics, as by Richard of St. Victor, who wrote *de Eruditione interioris hominis*. Its necessity was recognized even by the physicians or empirics of the middle ages, who were also ministers of peace ; not merely by inculcating the repression of angry passions, as in the address of the school of Salerno to an English king ; but practically, by always looking first to the restoration of the moral health, and by insisting on having the soul treated before the body : for they began by requiring the patient to confess and receive the communion ; that is, they replaced him in harmony with God and man, an immense result to commence with ! and accordingly the fact is, that with all their inferior of skill, and their deplorable want of material remedies, with every thing physical against them, they succeeded ; they cured. The state of nature without this supernatural peace, was regarded by all as involved in a disease incurable, in an eternal tempest never to be calmed. The Gentile philosophers knew

* iii. 32.

† *Purg.* xxiv.

‡ *Dialoghi overo della Pace.*

§ *Bostius de Viris illust. S. Cartus. Ord.*

that the mind by evil habits was broken and lacerated; and as Cicero says, "that with such evils afflicted, not only we could not be happy, but not even sound*."

St. Augustin says, "that God permitted man to seek himself, and find his own misery; and then he exclaims, "O malum liberum arbitrium sine Deo!"

In human nature was the triple evil which Vincent of Beauvais ascribes to the fallen angels—irrational fury, concupiscence, and a perverted fantasy†. "Who is able to relate in how many ways the vanity of affections disturbs peace of mind? Therefore there is need of constant vigilance over the passions; and as the father of a family examines his house, and every door and window and corner, to be on his guard against robbers or fire, or dishonest and unlawful things, so a just man, sedulous explorer of his conscience, examines all the ways and turns of his heart, and subjects them to the rule of reason, and finds peace‡." Of this state we find mention even in old historical monuments, as that which contains the words of the rector and university of Vienna to Duke Albert VI. of Austria in the year 1462, when complaining of the wounds of the country. "By the disobedience of our first parents," said they, citing St. Augustin's words in his xivth and xvth books on Genesis, "the whole human race has been involved in a triple war—that of sensuality against reason, of reason against the will, and of both against the observance of the divine precepts§." "As the knights of Charlemagne," says the Chronicle of St. Denis, "employed their arms against the enemy, so must we use our arms, which are virtues against vices, faith against heresy, charity against envy, liberality against avarice, humility against pride, chastity against luxury, poverty against the influence of prosperity, silence against talkativeness, obedience against carnal courage. No one will be crowned unless he fights loyally against these sins, and thus as the knights died in battle, so should we die to

* Tusc. iv. 84.

† Spec. Historiale, i. 10.

‡ Id. Spec. Mor. l. p. iv.

§ Evendorff Haselbach. Chronic. Austriacum ap. Pez. Script. Iter. Aust. tom. ii.

vices*.” The calm which succeeds by grace is what St. Anselm terms “the peace between flesh and spirit, or between our corruptible nature, and that which is incorruptible †;” the grounds of which St. Bonaventura exposes, saying, “quis restitit ei et pacem habuit ‡?” and St. Bernard saying, “it is impossible that any thing should be contrary to God, and coherent in itself; but whatever is opposed by God is opposed by itself §.” “By the just judgment of God,” says Peter of Blois, “he who has not peace with Christ, cannot have peace with himself ||.” “Look on your mind,” says the school, “it is the book of fate, ah! it is dark with many a blazoned name of misery.” Vincent of Beauvais thus speaks of it ¶. “Peace of heart must be preserved in purity of conscience, in fervour of love, in brightness of wisdom, in sweetness of devotion. Peace and sanctity are joined together. *Pacem sequimini et sanctimoniam.* Love secures peace—‘*Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam;*’ and wisdom gives peace, for that which is from above is pacific, and we read ‘*corona sapientiæ timor Domini, replens pacem et salutis fructum;*’ and that devotion gives peace is also evident, ‘*creavi fructum labiorum pacem.*’ The fruit of the lips is confession of sin, instruction of our neighbour, exhortation of virtue, abjuration of vice, frequent and fervent prayer, thanksgiving, and the voice of praise. Than this peace nothing is more useful, nothing more sweet, nothing more secure. Useful because by this is acquired riches of merits, as when there is peace in any land, men trade, and cultivate the ground, and gather their fruits. ‘*Fiat pax, in virtute tua et abundantia in turribus tuis.*’ Nothing sweeter for the kingdom of God, is peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and nothing more secure as when Jesus stood in the midst, and after saying, ‘*pax vobis,*’ added, ‘*ego sum, nolite timere.*’ Have peace, and the God of peace and of love will be with you**.” Let us hear John Picus of Mirandula, speaking of being crowned with theologic felicity by Him who

* Les Grande Chron. lib. iv. 3.

† De Similitud.

‡ Dietæ Salut.

§ De Consideratione, v. 12.

|| Epist. cii.

¶ Spec. Mor. i. iv. 22.

** Id.

makes peace in the highest. "A multifarious discord, a grievous intestine and more than civil war we have to wage within us, which philosophy can appease and set at rest; first, moral, by repressing the violence of brutal passions which seek like lions to slay and devour us; secondly, dialectic, by assuaging the contending hosts of reason, anxiously warring with syllogism and treachery; thirdly, natural, by appeasing the disputes and dissensions of opinion, which distract, wound, and lacerate the unquiet mind; but in so appeasing us, philosophy will remind us that nature, according to Heracitus, is born of war, and on that account by Homer called contention; therefore it can never place us in that true, quiet, and solid peace which can be imparted only by its queen; that is, only the gift and privilege of most holy theology. To her therefore it will point the way and be our guide, hastening our steps when we shall espy her from afar. 'Come to me,' she will cry, 'all ye who labour, come to me, and I will refresh you: I will give you peace, that peace which the world and nature cannot give.' So gently called, so benignantly invited, with winged feet, as if terrestrial Mercuries flying to the embraces of our most blessed mother, we shall enjoy the long desired peace—that most holy peace, that individual conjunction, unanimous friendship, in which all minds do not in one mind, which is above all minds, concord, but in an ineffable manner evanesce and pass, into one. This is that friendship which the Pythagorean said was the end of all philosophy: this is that peace which God made on high, which the angels descending upon earth, announced to men of good-will, that by which men themselves ascending to Heaven might become angels. Let us wish this peace to our friends, to the age in which we live; let us wish it to every house that we enter; let us wish it to our own soul, that by that it may become the house of God,—that after by morals and dialectics, it shall have cast off its defilements, it may adorn itself with a multiplex philosophy as if with a courtly apparel; may crown the summits of its gates with theology; so that when the King of Glory shall descend, coming with the Father, he may take up his abode with her*."

* De Hominum Dignitate.

“This perfect peace,” says a writer in 1144, whose judgment is that of the middle ages, “is the same thing as the spirit of wisdom *.” “To peace,” says Vincent of Beauvais, “answers the gift of wisdom; for unless man be wholly at peace in himself and with his neighbour, he cannot contemplate celestial things; but when there is peace between the mind and the flesh, then the spirit of wisdom elevates the mind to contemplation, and subjects the flesh to the spirit; for, as Gregory says, ‘*Gustato spiritu, desipit omnis caro* †.’” “Without peace of mind,” says St. Bonaventura, “no one comes to the view of contemplation.” The Church in her office during the octave of All Saints, cites St. Augustin, who says, “The seventh beatitude is wisdom, or the contemplation of truth, pacifying the whole man, and assimilating him to God: and the angel of the school shows also that the gift of wisdom belongs to the pacific, in whom is no rebellious movement against reason.”

Truth hath a quiet breast, which even heathens knew, who tried to make men believe that always in the mind of the philosopher there was placid peace ‡. “Let him that would live well attain to truth,” says Plato, “and then, and not before, he will cease from sorrow §.” And poets, too, proclaimed it, like him of later days, who says, “At first my peace was marred by this strange stir; now I am calm as truth, its chosen minister.” This the holy martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, felt when he began his letter, in 1165, to the King of England, with these solemn words, “*Loqui de Deo valde quietæ et liberæ mentis est. Inde est quod loquar ad Dominum meum, et utinam ad omnes, pacificum* ||.” This is expressly ascribed to another noble prelate, of whom we read: “This, above all, was remarkable in Wazo, Bishop of Liege, that in every business, whatever was the controversy, he always took care to be fortified with inextinguishable reason; and this he did, because circumspect the animal of God before and behind directed his eyes with a good intention, and so fixed them with truth that neither by hate nor favour could he ever be moved ¶.”

* Serm. Hieronymi Episc. Aretini, ap. Baluze, Miscel. append.

† Vicent. Bel. Spec. Hist. lib. vii. c. 14.

‡ Cicero, Tuscul. v. § De Repub. vi. || Epist. xlv.

¶ Gesta Episc. Leod. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. iv. 885.

Of St. Hugo, Bishop of Lincoln, similarly we read that, "No tumult, no importunity, no accumulation of business, no sudden and unforeseen event could prevent him from having a heart at peace and prepared *." "Non dabit in æternam fluctuationem justos," said the Prophet, and the promise was verified in all living members of the Catholic Church, of whom St. Bernard says, "We, because we are of the church, shall not fear, while the earth is troubled, and the mountains moved into the depths of the sea †." This is that calm consciousness of possessing truth which forms the Catholic mind, and which, though unknown, was yet longed for at moments by all who were separated from her, who cried with the unhappy poet of our times,

"————— Sacred peace!

Oh visit me but once, and, pitying, shed
One drop of balm upon my wither'd soul."

And yet he too could say, "There is one road to peace, and that is truth, which follow ye." Ah, if he had obeyed his own counsel, how joyfully would the Catholic Church have received back such a son, and how would he have been comforted in Jerusalem, which is the vision of peace, into which city of God, as St. Augustin says, all who have and love peace enter! "Qui habitant in Hierusalem non movebantur in æternum." Therefore, they who behold the vision of peace are immovable for ever. Peace is upon Israel.

To men, who are separated from this city of peace, and who, perhaps, like the unhappy Jews, are forbidden so much as to look towards it from afar, these truths appear incredible. Having gone down from Jerusalem, like him mentioned in the Gospel, and, consequently, subjected themselves, as St. Odo of Cluny remarks, to be stript of their intellectual goods †, they can, in fact, have no faith but that which is at the mercy of men; and, accordingly, we perceive that they are ever thinking of some one individual or other, of extraordinary talents or information, who will be best able to defend them, and whose assistance they invoke with cries. But to use the words of one of their own poets, and ascribe them to

* Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. iii. 2.

† Epist. cxlii.

‡ Bibliothec. Clun. Coll. i.

a convertite, amongst their number, "In towers and huts are many like to me, who, had they seen the forms of that celestial city, or heard such lore as I have learnt from her, like me would fear no more." Such the peace that wells from forth the fountain of all truth, and such the rest that to my wandering thoughts I found.

Here we must remark, how, while the temporal and spiritual powers exercised their just authority for the public good, the minds of private men were enabled to remain at peace with the adversaries of truth. Modern writers, who come forward as historians, calumniating Catholics and the Church, seem to suppose each moment that they have dealt the death-blow to their faith; but the Catholic, whom they accuse, is stronger than they imagine. He may address them in the words of Orestes to the Furies, who are triumphing over his admission, and say,

*Οὐ κειμένῳ πῶ τόνδε κομπάζεις λόγον *.*

Not to one already prostrated do you boast this; in fact, against her in whom he believes, nought avails their utmost wisdom. She, with foresight, plans, judges, and carries on her reign. Armed by her, Catholics in the middle ages, as at present, could meet unmoved the polished and high-finished foe to truth; and all their confusion was to see such delusive hopes invite despair; such mockery, such deception.

An old French writer complains of miserable productions being hatched over night, and sent to fly abroad, and be presented to heretics and Machiavelian politicians, who make great account of them; and while reading them make signs with their heads and arms, like the Muderis of Constantinople when they read the Coran of Mahomet †. Such boasters are, indeed, more numerous at present; but I do not think there walks on earth, this day, Catholic so remorseless as not to yearn with pity at the sight. "As heresies that men do leave are hated most of those they did deceive," our convertites at first may wonder, and complain, and think it right to raise their voice at every instant against those who rage

* Eumen. 590.

† *Advertisements des Cath. Angl. aux François.*

against the house of peace; but this pugnacity does not last. "Amaze," says Dante, "is not long the inmate of a noble heart;" and soon they learn to feel how alien from the spirit of that house had been these first impressions. They may still give a look in passing at the wretchedness of those who are left without, but they no longer feel amaze, or seek to answer words of passion and of vanity. The psalmist's rule is found the best: "*Nec memor ero nominum eorum per labia mea.*" One avoids mention of them, not through the motive of Metellus Numidicus, who says "there are men unworthy even of reproach*;" nor with any view to the utility to be drawn from one's enemies, according to the Chæronean sage, whose treatise, under that title, indicates, after all, only a selfish morality; nor, again, from following the advice of Marsilius Ficinus, "in *Letheum fluvium demergere, vilia ut preciosa retineas,*" but rather through fear of citing, as adversaries, those who may shortly become friends; for, as St. Augustin says, "the city of God is to be defended against many enemies; of whom many, the error of their impiety being corrected, become citizens in it, sufficiently worthy†." Their style is no longer laboured and impassioned; the soul, in possession of truth, dictates language careless and secure.—

"Fix'd in the rolling flood of endless years
The pillar of the eternal plan appears;
The raving storm and dashing wave defies,
Built by that Architect who built the skies."

Where there is little of true zeal to promote the Church's sway we find that men are ever apt to rail and cavil at her adversaries. Such ignoble thoughts are far removed from those who pass with the world for exaggerators of her claims; for they are full of love and indulgence for all whom heresy deceives.

Writers of the middle ages remark that in the Gospels there is no invective against Judas, or Pilate, or the crucifiers of Christ. During the early times of persecution we find, from examining the catacombs, that Christians, instead of giving vent to anger, by leaving memorials of their suffering, chose only to represent flowers, garlands,

* Aul. Gel. vi. 11.

† De Civ. Dei, i. 1.

crowns, symbols of peace, or Christ performing works of mercy, or pastoral scenes, the vineyard and the groves of palm *. They were at peace with those who styled truth, "an execrable superstition." And what folly not to be at peace with them, since whatever they do must turn to the good of the church? The impiety of Justinian, in laying his hand to the censor, ordering the clergy not to observe the rubric which enjoins at mass the secret prayers, furnishes now a useful proof of the antiquity of the observance, which he vainly wished to abolish †. Besides, there can be nothing novel to excite amaze. The opinions of Calvin and Luther had been judged and condemned ages before either of those unhappy men existed. Men, who reject the authority of the church, are but as flies on the ocean to those who view them from her eminence. Lower, perchance, with various motion, changes the soil; but the rock on which she stands yet never trembled. When the formidable emperor Frederic Barbarossa and his son, Frederic II., rose against her, she uttered no cry of alarm: she knew that she had right on her side. The times may be threatening—the nations may imagine vain things: she loses not her peace: she waits. Patient because eternal. This is she,

"So execrated, e'en by those whose debt
To her is ever praise; they wrongfully
With blame requite her: and with evil words,
But she is blessed, and for that recks not;
Amidst all primal works of the creation glad,
Rolls on her sphere, and in her bliss exults ‡."

The spirit of forbearance, and of pity for unavailing foes, and of true magnanimous liberality, descended thus to all her well-instructed children. Mark the spirit of the following passages from works of the middle ages. Amoricus de Creo, Seneschal of Anjou, who was honourably buried in the abbey of Rota, in Angers, is thus commemorated by one of the men, whose order he had oppressed: "An admirable knight, who, if he had not been seneschal,

* Raoul. Rochette, Tableau des Catacombes.

† Bened. xiv. de Sacrif. Missæ, i. 381.

‡ Dante, i. 7.

which office led him to oppress the churches, would have surpassed all men of his time in chivalry *."

"If I cannot avoid the accusations of severe men," says the chronicler of the Carthusians, "I care not, provided they permit me to speak to myself and to mine. Love conducted me to this work. I say love, which ought not to be accused by any good man. If then to man I should seem through the love of love, to have incurred fault, I trust that from God, the remunerator of love, I may deserve to obtain glory †." These pacific friends of truth do not even wish to assume a legitimate authority in imparting it. William of Trahinac, Prior of Grandmont, writing to King Henry II., uses these words: "Nullum jus, sed nec imperium teneo in voluntatem tuam; et licet haberem nullo modo cogerem te. Ingenuus est enim hominis animus; mavult duci quam trahi ‡."

There is still another reflection suggested here; for, from these observations, we can understand the comparative absence of insanity in ages of faith. The passions, in their first degree of intensity, having been thus regulated, madness, which is nothing else but the same passions in their second degree, as physicians of our time have shown, was warded off §. Van Helmont remarks, that presumption is the most ordinary form of insanity. "In almost all cases," says Alibert, "pride is the predominant symptom." It was not wonderful, therefore, that the hospitals of the sixteenth century should have been filled with men, who had lost their wits through enthusiasm for the new opinions. As a consequence of those opinions, self-conceit, egotism, restless ambition, avarice, and envy, were then let loose upon the intellectual world, and we reap now the fruits. The passions, uncontrolled, are true mental maladies. La-Bruyère describes madness in its first, Esquirol in its more advanced stages. Physical disorders and obliterations of intelligence augment as peace diminishes in the heart.

* Chronic. Turonense, ad an. 1222. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

† Petri Dorlandi Diestensis Chronic. Cartusiense Epist.

‡ Ap. Martene, Thes. Anecd. i. 561.

§ Esquirol des Maladies Mentales. D'Alibert, Physiologie des Passions.

The predominant causes of mental alienation were removed by the Catholic religion, while its manners were the best preventives; for no one becomes insane through temperance, disinterestedness, filial respect, charity, the sense of duty, humility, and trust in God; so that a return to Catholic manners would infallibly preserve society from the terrible spectacle to which it is now every day more and more exposed.

The pacific, who were thus at peace with God and with their own hearts, were then to be at peace externally with men, "whom," as St. Jerome remarks, "they could never have appeased if there had continued the war of vices within their own minds *." "They were then," as Peter of Blois observes, "prepared for following peace with all men †," not boasting in the cry that now prevails of peace by resistance, but in that of the Gospel, peace by concession, by forbearance, forgiveness, charity. "This celestial city," says St. Augustin, "while it sojourns on earth, calls to itself citizens from all nations, and collects a foreign society in all languages; not caring for whatever is different in manners, laws, and institutions, by which earthly peace may be either acquired or held; cutting off nothing from them, destroying nothing, but preserving and following whatever, though different in different nations, is yet intended to one and the same end of earthly peace, provided it does not hinder religion. The celestial city uses this peace in its peregrinations, and it guards and seeks the things pertaining to the mortal nature of man, which are not inconsistent with piety; and this earthly peace it refers to celestial, which is the true peace ‡." Such was the admirable spirit by which all Catholics were to be animated. They were to be pacific, not alone with the amiable and the kind, but with the froward, and with those who hated peace. This leads us, therefore, to the third source of peace, recognized in ages of faith; namely, as St. Bonaventura says, "humility towards men §."

Who is angry? "He who thinks himself wise," replied Cardan. "Humility, therefore, makes us pacific towards our neighbour, and by this peace," says St. Boniface, "we shall be the sons of God. Great is the good-

* Comment. in Matt. v.

† Epist. xlviij.

‡ De Civ. Dei, xix. 17.

§ Dietæ Salut. vii. 6.

ness, ineffable the clemency of God," adds this holy martyr, "that we, who are not worthy to be the servants, should be called the sons of God *." St. Augustin even says that "the pacific resemble God, as being perfectly wise, and formed in his image by the regeneration of the renewed man †."

Without charity there is no peace; but in a former book we saw what charity reigned in ages of faith. The rule of assemblies was then conformable to the admonition of the church at the washing of the feet on Maunday Thursday. "Where there is charity, God is there; and, consequently, peace. The love of Christ hath collected us into one. Let us rejoice, and be glad in Him. Let us fear, and love the God man. And from our hearts let us love one another sincerely. Therefore, when we meet together, let us beware of being divided in mind; let malignant quarrels cease, let contentions cease, and let Christ God be in the midst of us."

Hugo of St. Victor, after repeating the Divine announcement of the happiness of the pacific, exclaims, "O, how few are there who attend to these words with the eyes of their mind, and, according to their admonition, seek beatitude! How many are there who, for a trifling injury by words, would render stripes if they were able; or, in defect of strength, threaten greater things ‡." Nevertheless, the dream of the ancient poet was realized by Catholic instructors in ages of faith. There was no one so ferocious that he could not be tamed, and rendered meek §: and certainly the pacific training, the practical results which prevailed in those ages, form an astonishing fact of history. Innumerable are the affecting examples related by historians to show how the precept, "to live at peace, if possible, with all men," was actually reduced to practice ||. We meet with similar, even in fables, which, often unintentionally, represent Catholic manners. Thus, in the tales of Cervantes, the young and noble Spanish gentlemen evince a most delicate conscience in regard to offences against peace. The thought of having inflicted an injury, even in their

* Serm. iv. de Octo Beat. † Hom. de Serm. Dom. i. 4.

‡ Hugo St. Vict. in Matt. ii. c. 1. § Hor. Ep. i.

|| See Wal. Strabo, de Vit. St. Othmari Abb. c. 5. ap. Goidast. Alemannic, *Rer. Script.* i. p. 11.

moments of triumph, leads to great contrition, and to solemn vows of pilgrimage and atonement.

As Venerable Bede says in the office of All Saints, "In the celestial hosts peace had its flowers, with which the soldiers of Christ were crowned." Many beautiful sentences of holy men in the cloisters of peace passed into the world as maxims for the general direction of manners. Such were those of St. Columban :—

"Non tu, quæso, jocis lædas, nec carmine quenquam."

And again,

"Sint tibi pacifici magna dulcedine mores.

Ne tua pœniteat, caveas, victoria temet.

Justitiæ et pacis placeant tibi verba loquendo,

Pax precor alma tuo placeat tibi semper in ore *."

Pope Innocent III. writes to the Archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans, complaining that the French are frequently excited to anger, and sometimes, merely through levity, to use profane and horrible oaths; not fearing to utter what we should tremble to write. He sends, therefore, to charge the bishops to use diligence in correcting this evil †.

It is curious to remark how the ancient guides, in stating the degrees of this virtue, adopted an order, the very inverse of what would now be proposed. They began where we finish, and they finished where we begin. Hear St. Bonaventura: "It is a high degree of peace to spare inferiors if they are in fault: it is a still higher to converse benignly with equals: it is the highest of all to conform one's will, in all things, to that of superiors. Again, it is a high degree of peace to trouble no one by actions: it is a higher still to trouble no one by words, either to his face or behind his back: it is the highest of all to give no just occasion of offence to any one by signs or nods. In all these degrees was Christ, according to His words, 'Non veni facere voluntatem meam.' Again, he is in a high degree of peace who does not publish the evil of his neighbour: he is in a still higher who does not depreciate the good of his neighbour; neither blackening nor inverting it, but extolling it: he is in the

* S. Columb. Carmen Monostichon, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.

† Inn. Epist. lib. xvi. 3.

highest who compassionates him in his defects, and rejoices with him in his heart at his advancement *." We see, then, how profoundly laid were the foundations of social peace by the schoolmen.

As the remainder of this book will be occupied with the historic view of this external peace, here break we off, and proceed to general reflections, respecting that interior peace, which was its source. How much of this was granted we have seen ; but still we must remember that the attainment of the true and perfect peace, even in the interior world of the soul, during the present life, was known to be impossible, as all moralists of the middle ages showed.

The mistake of the philosophers was their supposing that the wise man could enjoy perfect peace in this life. But the Athenian policy, which Pericles praises, cannot be transferred to spiritual things, so as to be sure of conquering without the habit of struggles and endurance †.

On the text, "God placed before the paradise of pleasure cherubim, with a flaming sword, to guard the way of the tree of life," an ancient writer says, "By the flaming sword, which is temporal tribulation, and by cherubim, which is plenitude of science, which is charity, we come to the tree of life, which is Christ, and live for ever : for no one can come to the tree of life unless by these two things ; that is to say, the endurance of miseries, and plenitude of science, that is, of love ‡." "According, indeed, as grace is increased, the seeds of sin," says Duns Scotus, "have less power to disturb our peace ; as when a pebble is tied to the wings of an eagle, if the moving power of the eagle increase, though the gravity of the pebble will not be diminished, yet its gravity, as to effect, will decrease ; for, in proportion as the power is greater, the stone will be a less impediment to the flight upwards §." "But never to feel any disturbance, or to suffer any sorrow of heart or body, is not the state of the present life," says the author of the Imitation, "but only that of the eternal rest ||."

You pretend to possess unalterable tranquillity. You

* De Gradibus Virtutum, xiii.

† Thucyd. ii. 39.

‡ Wieboldi Quæstiones in Octateuch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. ix.

§ Duns Scoti lib. iv. Sent. lib. iv. 9. 7.

|| iii. 25.

are surprised at hearing "*Bella premunt hostilia*," when we invoke peace! Then return to the Porch, and leave the school of the middle ages, which can only thus far promise: "*Estote fortes in bello, et pugnate cum antiquo serpente, et accipieris regnum æternum*." "Our Saviour," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "after, and not before his baptism suffered himself to be tempted, and the apostles suffered trials after the descent of the Holy Spirit. It is the religious only who are tempted; and others are, improperly, said to be tempted, for they resist not, but yield*." The religious find from experience, as a poet says, "that their thoughts struggle to take wildest flight even at the moment when they should array themselves in pensive order." Here, therefore, we must attend to the distinctions, so often insisted upon by the guides of ages of faith, respecting peace in general, and the duties of those who love the true peace.

"All men love peace," says St. Bernard; "few deserve it †." "As there is no one," says Augustin, "who is unwilling to rejoice, so there is no one who is unwilling to have peace; for when men wish for war, they only wish to conquer; that is, to have peace: so that it is for the sake of peace wars are carried on. Robbers even wish to have peace with each other, at least at home with their families. And if we conceive one of those fabulous monsters in his cave, as described by poets, we shall find that he wishes to be at peace with himself; for which end he slays, ravages, and devours; and, although cruel and ferocious, still it is for the peace of his own life that he cruelly and ferociously provides. Pride perversely imitates God. It hates equality with allies under Him. It hates, therefore, the just peace of God, and it loves its unjust peace; but not to love peace of some kind or other is impossible to it; for no vice is so contrary to nature as entirely to destroy the last vestiges of nature. The wicked, therefore, desire peace; but, in comparison with that of the just, theirs does not deserve to be called peace ‡." Tacitus says that "Tiberius was most of all anxious to prevent things at peace from being disturbed §." Alexander, too, said that the object of his wars was to secure an

* Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. iv. 1.

† De Civ. Dei, xix. 12.

‡ Epist. ccclviii.

§ An. ii. 65.

universal peace; and the last tyrant who imitated him, amidst all his conquests was directed, we are now told, by a pacific idea. The gentile authors recognize the love of peace as belonging to all men. Hesiod says that "No mortal loves war, but by necessity men endure that heavy contention *." Cæsar himself, according to one of the poets, proposes battle as the means of peace, saying, "This victory will establish peace for us. The whole world will be disarmed after this contest †." It is to express abhorrence that the Jupiter of Homer exclaims,

Αἰεὶ γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη, πόλεμοί τε, μάχαι τε.

"Even in gladiators," says Cicero, "we often see a certain image of peace. They confer together; they seem rather pacific than angry. We see Ajax and Hector, in Homer, speaking to each other before the fight gently and quietly †." Of peace, he says elsewhere, that the name itself is sweet §. And every one knows the lines of the Roman poet, which ascribe to soldiers, and to all engaged in arduous labours, the desire of ultimate tranquillity ||. Finally, no temple in Rome, in the days of her false and lying gods, was more sumptuous or beautiful than that of Peace. "But," say the philosophers of the ages of faith, "all peace is not the peace of the Lord ¶." There is a three-fold evil peace," says St. Bonaventura, "a wicked, a pretended, and an inordinate peace. The first had Pilot with Herod, who was made his friend, in the death of Christ. Of this we read, 'Zelavi super iniquos pacem peccatorum videns.' The second is that of Judas, who betrayed Christ with a kiss. The third is when a greater obeys a less, a prelate an inferior, or reason sensuality. Such peace is worse than war; such peace Adam had with Eve; for he was unwilling to trouble her delights. Of such peace the Saviour says, 'Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium **.'" St. Anselm only says, in general "there is a carnal peace when infidels, or false Christians, agree to sin, and thence obtain the same peace ††." "Not all peace, therefore,

* Op. et Dies, 5.

† Tuscul. iv.

|| Sat. i. ¶ Hugo de St. Vict. Eruditiones Theol. lib. iii.

** Dietæ Salut. tit. vii. 6.

† Lucan. vi.

§ Phil. 13.

†† De Similitud. c. 123.

makes man blessed," says a bishop of the twelfth century; "but only that which Christ bequeathed to His disciples *." Of other kinds the world, indeed, hears frequent mention. With the ancient poet, Pothinus speaks of desiring peace and perpetual quiet, and of removing the crime of wars, and all the while is proposing to assassinate Pompey †. But "if you do not love justice," says St. Augustin, "you will not have peace; for they love each other. They are two friends. Perhaps you wish for one of them, but not the other. There is no one who does not wish for peace; but not all practise justice. Ask all men, even the wicked, Do you wish for peace? With one mouth the whole human race will answer, I wish it, I love it. Then love justice, for they kiss each other; and if you do not love her friend, peace will not love you, nor come to you. If you are her friend's enemy, she will say to you, Why do you seek me? Therefore, if you wish for peace, be just ‡." The church, in her evening prayer for peace, each day indicates that it can only be vouchsafed in conjunction with right counsels and just works.

Some desire peace through avarice, as in the comedy of Aristophanes, when the scythe-maker exults in the profit which peace has brought him §. Others desire it through sheer luxury. "Perhaps your feet are not swift to shed blood," says Peter of Blois, "but your affections run to acquiesce in flesh and blood, which shall never possess the kingdom of God ||." The arms of temporal warfare may grow rusty through an evil peace, as when those of Ulysses during the luxurious repose of the suitors lay in a corner of his lofty chamber defiled with smoke, no longer like those he left behind him when he went to Troy. Such peace is in the tyrant's palace, where the crowd waste the triumphal hours in festival and song; though "what does he not endure from lusts and self-reproaching conscience, ere he can obtain the comfortless repose he seeks?" "Then," says Peter of Blois, "a man's enemies are those of his household, of whom Jeremiah speaks, saying 'seduxerunt te viri pacifici: molliti sunt sermones ejus super

* Hieronimi Aretini Serm.

† In Ps. lxxxiv. En.

‡ Petr. Bles. de Confessione.

† Lucan. viii.

§ Pax, 1198.

oleum, et ipsi sunt jacula*.'” Then they say like the king Hezekiah, when Isaiah the prophet warned him of the desolation coming upon Babylon, “*Sit tantum pax et veritas in diebus meis!*” “Only may there be peace in my days!”

“This is a peace,” says Peter of Blois, “which has neither merit nor reward, a peace which God hates, the peace of earthly pleasures which our Lord came to destroy†.” Of this St. Augustin says, speaking to men who ascribed the horrors attending the fall of the Roman empire to the Christian religion, “*querant tempora quibus non sit quieta vita, sed potius secunda nequitia‡.*” “For why,” he says, “afflicted with adversity, do you complain of Christian times, unless because you wish to have your luxury secure, that it may flow on in the midst of depraved manners removed from all asperity of inquietude.” “For you do not desire peace and all abundance, in order that you may use them honestly, modestly, soberly, temperately, piously, but that an infinite variety of pleasures may be derived from insane effusions§.” Such peace was so far from being considered as the criterion of spiritual advance, that it is even denounced by guides of the middle ages as the presage of desolation. “The sixth sign of the coming of Antichrist, and of the end of the world,” says one of them, “will be peace. In those days men will be eating and drinking in security, without affection and without mercy. The seventh sign is not only security, but the preaching of security. They will say, Peace and security.” So writes in the reign of King Charles the Fifth, Nicolas Oremius, bishop of Lisieux, whose curious work on Antichrist found in the abbey of St. Victor, can never suggest the idea that it was a picture of the manners of his own times||.

Again we find denounced as most evil, that internal tranquillity which is based on indifference to truth. One of the rules given to Charlemagne by Alcuin is directed against this; for he says, “the preaching of peace is so to be exercised, that under the name of piety,

* Epist. iii.

† Serm. xlix.

‡ De Civ. Dei, ii. 29.

§ Id. i. 30.

|| Lib. de Antich. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.

there may be no assertion of falsehood. For as it is most detestable to break peace, so is it blasphemy to deny truth. There is a great agreement moreover between true unity and pacific truth*." Here we must admire the provisions which existed in the middle ages, to guard the faithful from contracting a peace of this description. There were comparatively but few then, of whom it might be said, "*commixti sunt inter gentes, et didicerunt opera illorum* †." No where then would have been allowed to pass the maxim of Epictetus, which advises every man to make his sacrifices according to the custom of the country in which he lives. It was heresy which brought back this kind of peace. Arius assured Constantine that he was a Catholic; the Calvinist Count Palatine said at the diet of Augsburg, "that he was not opposed to the confession of Augsburg;" Beze at the colloquy of Poissy, declared himself in accordance with the Lutherans; and the Vaudois, who were Pelagians, professing a narrow rationalism, in one day united with the Calvinists, who held a doctrine exactly opposite, sacrificing their creed for the sake of a political analogy. Such peace was inadmissible by Catholics, whose pretended intolerance consisted in a resolution not to unite with error. They acted as if guided by that oracular answer of Æschylus, "nourish not a lion's whelp in the city; but if you will nourish it, be ready to conform to its manners ‡." They saw nothing in those who professed to establish a purer creed, to justify a wish that posterity should conform to their manners; and they very wisely, therefore, barred all gates against the progeny of their brains. To follow foolish precedents, and wink with both their eyes, is found by the descendants of men who first received error into their city easier than to think. The peace they resolve on maintaining is with the prejudices arising from their birth and education, to renounce which they would deem shameful, heedless of what St. Augustin tells them §. Hence very often follows a peace with all deadly, all forbidden things: hence follow "reasonings made to compose a spirit well inclined to live on terms of amity with vice and sin without dis-

* Alcuini Capit. Admonitiones ad Car. XI. ap. Baluze, Miscellan. tom. i.

† P. 105.

‡ Aristoph. Ranæ, 1431.

§ Epist. 57.

turbance.” “ This itself is a grievous sin, and the sign of an obstinate mind,” says Peter of Blois, “ that you feel yourself oppressed by no sin, as a limb that has lost all feeling is far from soundness*.” “ Do you think,” he asks another, “ that in peace and quiet of body there is peace of mind? You will perhaps have peace, but it will be most bitter†.” “ Pastoral images and still retreats, umbrageous and solitary seats, sweet birds in concert with harmonious strains, are then all enchantments which conspire against thy peace, soothing thee to make thee but a surer prey. Indifference with respect to religious truth, to which such peace leads, ascends at length to men in highest office, and the result is that which took place at Geneva in 1535, when the council abandoned the reins of authority, imagining, as De Haller says, like modern politicians, that there could be no repose until the disturbers of peace were the masters, and that profanations would only cease when there was nothing more left to profane ‡.”

Such peace was denounced, in ages of faith, as belonging to men loving but themselves, and who have no charity : “ for though in charity alone is peace,” as Peter of Blois says, who adds that “ the battles of temptation cease, when the heart begins to exercise it §,” yet this pacific quiet, this delicious sabbath, this sweetness of charity, which alone gives rest to the soul of man, will never suffer a surrender of vital interests; it requires courage and heroic resistance; love is fire. “ I have come to send fire on the earth,” says our Lord. “ Fire always feeds upon external objects, and by kindling them, increases within ||.” Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux, says accordingly to St. Thomas of Canterbury, “ If you prefer human to divine favour, and consent to abuses of profane novelty, you cannot only live with the utmost tranquillity, but you can even more than before reign with the king ¶.” It is no great discovery therefore when a modern author tells us, that the archbishop by reasoning in a different manner, might have enjoyed the

* Epist. cxviii.

† Epist. ix.

‡ Hist. de la Réforme en Suisse, 186.

§ De Amicitia Christ. l.

|| De Charitate Dei et prox. 32.

¶ Epist. S. Thom. xxi.

king's friendship. True, if like many of his contemporary prelates, who have yet descendants, he to base fear yielding had abjured his high estate ; but that man lived not for himself only, he was kindled with the fire which Christ came to send amongst us, and consequently the result, instead of being what some deem wisdom, the friendship of kings and the repose of the rich and a blind life meanly passing, was the usual lot of heroic virtue, succeeded indeed in his case by the martyr's crown glorious throughout the universal world.

Here we pass beyond our present limits. Reserving then for the last book all further observations on such peace, let us hear in conclusion, what Vincent of Beauvais says of evil peace in general. " There is a multiplex evil peace, for there is a fantastic, a sophistic, and a diabolic peace. A fantastic as when worldly men say that they are rich, and are at ease and prosperous ; for there is no true peace in such things, as the Lord saith, '*in mundo pressuram habebitis ; in me autem pacem.*' Sooth it was a fantastic peace which the city of Jerusalem enjoyed when he wept over it, saying '*quia si cognovisses et tu,*' and that there is no earthly peace in earthly riches is evident, for that peace derived from them, always contends with the conscience and harasses the interior, and if it hath not an exterior enemy, it makes one within for itself. Neither is there true solid peace in pleasures, for when the men who follow them say peace and security, suddenly ruin cometh on them. Solomon had abundance of delights, and he had peace on all sides, but the Lord raised against him his servant. A voluptuous life induces sorrow and labour, shame and death. Nor is there true peace in honours, for ambition ever creeps like a cancer, and the farther it leads man in honours, the greater distance is he removed from peace. The way of peace such men know not, when the fear of God is not before their eyes, and all such persons have but a fantastic peace. There is also a sophistic peace, as in vulgar and worldly friendships, since amongst them we daily see enmities arise which cause inexpressible bitterness. '*Homo pacis meæ in quo sperabam, magnificabit super me supplantationem ;*' and often with such men it is, '*in ore suo pacem cum amico suo loquitur, et occulte ponit ei insidias. Loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem in cordibus eorum.*' In these therefore

there is not true peace, but fear and the suspicion of deception and fraud. There is in fine a diabolic peace which sinners have, ‘*qui lætantur cum malefecerint et exultant in rebus pessimis: sed non est pax impiis, dicit Dominus.*’ For a mind corrupt suffers many and horrible pains. How can he have peace who bears a sword in his heart, who lies on thorns, whose bed is full of venomous serpents, who dwells amidst lions and dragons, who has robbers in his house, who perceives his cruel enemies raging against him, and plotting to devour him every hour, and sees the sword of vengeance vibrating over him, and the horrible abyss of fire and sulphur yawning beneath ready to swallow him up? How should he have peace who resists the Author of peace? Truly there is also a diabolic peace, when sinners who dissent from each other, agree together in the oppression of the poor, or in attacking the church of God *.”

To this peace the Count de Maistre alludes in a passage of fearful eloquence, where he says, “Never have I read the anti-religious works of Hume, without a kind of terror. It has always seemed to me that the hardened character of Hume, and his insolent calm, must have been the last penalty for that certain revolt of the intelligence which excludes mercy, and which God chastises no more except by retiring.” From observations such as these, St. Theresa on one occasion exclaims, “May God deliver us from the many different kinds of peace which people of the world enjoy, and which cause them to live tranquilly amidst the most grievous sins, for these do not deserve the name of peace, but are real wars.” We have already seen enough to awaken a suspicion in the most ignorant, that much real peace was internally enjoyed amidst all the external wars and disorders of the middle ages; and that, on the contrary, cruel internal wars and horrors sufficiently manifested indeed around us by the breath of heart-sick groans “rage amidst the external calm of modern society.

In truth, the portraits of the middle age and those of a later epoch, indicate the difference. Let us pause a moment to examine this proposition. We have before remarked how versed in physiognomy were men in

* Vincent. Bellov. Speculum. Mor. lib. 1. par. iv. 22.

ancient times : St. Bonaventura, in three chapters of his compendium, gives all the elements of a physiognomical and craniological system, “ but the doctrine of mortification,” as Ozanam remarks, “ enabled them to escape from fatality in such discussions.” “ This very year,” says Cæsar of Heisterbach, “ when our abbot was going to the general chapter at Vitriacum, he and the Abbot of Stymena were charitably received by a certain hostel-keeper who served the poor. Henry our cellarian sat by his side, who after supper said to the abbot, ‘ is that man known to you?’ who replied, ‘ that he was, and that he was a good man.’ ‘ Trust me,’ answered Henry, ‘ he is in a bad state, for as he sits now at table, there is something infernal in his countenance.’ Early next morning, while Henry said mass, the abbot, as he told me, felt a certain strange influence, which left him power to pray only thus, ‘ Domine, da mihi bonum finem.’ The same night this hostel-keeper went to the river side alone, took off his clothes, and threw himself in; but as he could not sink, he came out, and went higher up, looking for a deeper place : the watchmen from the castle saw him, and cried out, ‘ good man, this is no season for bathing,’ for it was Christmas night ; but the miserable wretch plunged in and perished *.” If we call to our aid this science in studying portraits, not shrinking from such a task through fear of the conclusions to which it may lead, and after all, as Cervantes makes some one reply to an insidious question, what should we have been doing in the world so long, if we had not some little knowledge of the lines which nature has engraved on the face of all men, in order to reveal their disposition †? if I say we study these portraits of ages of faith, we shall be convinced that the men who resembled them, enjoyed this threefold peace of which we have spoken. That serene and beneficent expression of countenance ascribed to the young Duke Louis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, that sweet placid look, indicative, as Lavater observes, of genius, which Buffon defines as only a greater aptitude for patience, is characteristic of them all. “ Ecce homo sine querela,” as the church sings to commemorate her confessors, is your involun-

* Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. xi. 61.

† The Egyptians.

tary exclamation on seeing them, without waiting to hear if they speak in that mild plain voice, grateful to the ear, which, according to Michael Scot, indicates a pacific heart*.

“Look at the effigy of patience,” says Tertullian, “that tranquil, placid countenance, that pure front contracted with no signs of grief or anger. This is the true Christian patience, not that false patience of the Gentiles, patient of rivals, impatient only of God. But this shows what we love—the patience of God, the patience of Christ, patience of the spirit, patience of the flesh as becomes those who believe in the resurrection of flesh and spirit†.” “Truly,” says Peter of Blois, “I do not believe that it displeases God, when any one pleases men by the grace of meekness or the intuition of sanctity; for He himself who is the Maker and Redeemer of men, gives such serenity and sweetness of peaceful joy to the countenances of some, imparts such a celestial grace to all their words and deeds, that they conciliate the hearts of men to themselves at the first sight, so that they are revered by them as if they were angels‡.” Where will you find these looks among portraits of men that represent the spirit of any sinister epoch? Truly, if Shakspeare had in his mind these latter, whose smiles are only sneers, along with a bitter splenetic misanthropy, he would never have put such an exclamation in Miranda’s mouth when she first sees the shipwrecked party,

“O wonder! How beauteous mankind is!”

Ah no! without the love of peace, men resemble not the sons of God, but him who hears these words from an angel,

“Think not, revolted spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminish’d brightness to be known,
As when thou stoodst in Heaven upright and pure;
That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee; and thou resemblest now
Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul.”

The martial look of the middle ages did not require that round face which painters shun as full of vulgarity,

* Lib. Physion. Magist. Michael Scot, p. 11. c. 68.

† De Patientia.

‡ Sermon I.

but which the influence of Mars was thought to form *. On the contrary, it indicated that even temper, that calm internal peace which is the sublimest expression of force. The type may be witnessed in the pacific countenance of St. James trampling upon the Moors in battle, in the picture by Don Juan Carreno de Miranda. Modern painters who have studied countenances among those whom the French extol as the heroes of July, of whom Tacitus would say, that, like the Catti, "*ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt*," are incapable of representing it. There was a mystic air of sweet sadness in the warlike figure which denoted men at peace with their own conscience, and in charity, performing a stern but necessary task. Mark in a curious chapel in the ancient cathedral of St. Omer, those four awful figures of knights on horseback, armed cap à pie, with lances in their hands: their countenance bespeaks serenity: they are doing their duty with purity of intention: all that St. Thomas and Denis the Carthusian wrote to soldiers is embodied here.

In the middle ages, the ideal of manly worth was not that of a wild and angry animal, bespeaking fierce cruelty in look, like that represented for the model of soldiers in countries where martial glory holds the first place. Open the Chronicles and the chivalrous Romances, and you find the hero rather like what our gentle poet terms some Lord lack-beard, some tender juvenal. Curious as the fact may seem, the church deprecated the formidable mustachios and long beards of the Longobards, and desired their tonsure. In a most ancient ritual in the monastery of the Minerva at Rome, there is the formula of benediction on cutting off the hair, "*ad capillos tondendos*." The prayer was as follows:

"O Christ, Almighty Saviour, innocent and lover of innocence; humble and possessor of humility; meek and pattern of meekness, who laying thy hands of benediction upon the little children coming to thee, didst say, 'that of such is the kingdom of heaven,' bless this thy servant whose superfluous hair we cut off in thy name: grant him understanding with the increase of age, that he may fear thee, know thee, and keep thy

* See Agrip. de Occult. Phil. ii. 52.

commandments, and that by thy assistance he may attain with the utmost soundness, to the years of old age, through thee, Saviour of the world *."

At Ravenna, before the door of the church of St. Vitalis, was the sepulchral stone of the Longobard Droctulfus, who was a great warrior, and owing to his long beard, formidable in aspect ; but the epitaph shows that the custom of his nation must not lead to a misconception of his character, for the words are

" Terribilis visu facies, sed corda benigna †."

Reader, hast thou marked in journeying through impious lands, how even peasants and the people generally do gnarl upon thee, with a scowl that threatens torture, if their spite had power ? In ages of faith such were not the faces of the simpler sort : for Michael Angelo says, " the countenances of the rustic people show what passes in their souls. One sees there a peace which neither weariness nor hate can trouble." Indeed the artists of the middle ages had a perfect consciousness of the pacific character which they were called upon to express. We find them stating that the countenances in a picture to represent an assembly of legislators or holy doctors, ought to express " an imperturbable calm, a religious sadness, tempered by the dignity of apostolic peace." How wonderfully do they combine in their paintings of the Saviour, tranquillity with pain, serenity with sorrow : and this was the mould for all. Those who walk beneath the vaulted aisles of Noyon, see at their feet in long succession, figures of the dead, whose countenances express such peace, that none can doubt whose sons they should be called. Some of them indeed are expressly commemorated in ancient characters as having been pacific. Thus of one we read, " Vasserius imprimis pacis amans." In a word, kneel before a painting of Corregio, gaze upon the smiling face of his St. Francis of Assisi, dying in an ecstasy, as if of beholding the supreme peace, while you hear sung the ' Agnus Dei,' by a religious choir, and you will understand what was the state of hearts and minds in ages of faith, without having examined other testimony.

* Murat. Antiq. It. xxiii.

† Id. xxiii.

CHAPTER V.

"TRUTH having the government of the soul, I can never suppose," says Plato, "that the chorus of evils will follow it; but, on the contrary, that right manners and the chorus of the philosophic nature will be its train *." Peace, we may now say in like manner, being thus established in the hearts of men, one cannot believe that its action was unfelt in the family and in the state; that houses in the ages of faith witnessed that domestic confusion of which the wise Homer makes Telemachus say that it would be much better to die than to witness it †; and which made the poets call the winds brothers, as being always at strife with one another, and full of violence ‡. We have already more than once visited the interior of these houses, and we must now again return to view them hastily in reference to the beatitude of peace. The middle ages expressly distinguished, as may be seen in the address of the university of Vienna to Duke Albert VI., domestic harmony relative to the government of the family as one of the divisions of peace no less important than the political, which consisted in the mutual concord of the citizens §. In the ninth part of his Chronicle of Genoa James de Voragine treats on the peace of domestic life, and the happiness of families united in conjugal and filial love; also on the duty of gentleness towards servants; all which part Muratori unfortunately omits as being written in a rude style; observing also, that Genoa in his time has better masters for such lessons ||. All guides of the middle ages lay great stress upon the maintenance of this peace, St. Thomas ascribing to it a certain beauty which causes spiritual joy and almost ecstasy in the beholder ¶. "Domestic discord is the greatest of all evils," says Cardan,

* De Repub. vi.

† xx. 316.

‡ Cardan. de Consolat. ii.

§ Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

|| Rer. It. Script. tom. ix.

¶ De Regim. Prin. ii. 11.

in the very treatise in which he shows the utility that may be drawn from adversity*. The roots of such miseries were eradicated by the Catholic religion, which vivified and enforced all the provisions of nature; for humility had curbed ambition, and meekness the unruly tongue. We have before remarked what simple manners reigned. Our leaves must still resemble former. Life in the middle ages was not that ceaseless struggle for distinction which the Roman satirist describes, comparing it to the chariot-race, in which each one strives to get before the other: it was not so rare to find men contented with the present, and ready to say it is enough. Φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων, the disdainful epithet applied to Agamemnon by Achilles, in his wrath, might have been used in the middle ages to express the same feeling. Therefore the poet represents a Jew boasting of his superiority in the art of making money. "They say we are a scattered nation. I cannot tell: but we have scrambled up more wealth by far than those that brag of faith †." The officers of Philippe le bel are reproached by an old historian for having such magnificent gold and silver plate; but these were in fact men like the Jew-banking nobles, who then, as now, were such enemies of the Church. The Catholic nobles, on the contrary, often imitated monastic simplicity. Humbert II., dauphin of Vienne, made rules for his table in 1336, which Le Grand-d'Aussy says would be fit for that of a convent of monks ‡. In castles, in palaces, in huts and shops, was found the life of those delivered from miserable ambition. With peace of heart men beheld, without courting, the proud thresholds of the powerful. Secret ambition did not disturb the peace of friendships which were chosen without regard to it. "In their friends," says Peter of Blois, "men seek peace of mind, not profit §." "The law of friendship requires that a friend must be received with so much the more reverence, as he is understood to be in a greater necessity ||." "Desire not the shadow of a great name, or a particular acquaintance with many, for these things generate distractions and great obscurities in the heart." Such was the advice of religion. Ac-

* Lib. iii. c. 2.

† Marlowe.

‡ Hist. de la Vie Privée des Français, iii. 266.

§ De Amicitia Christiana, 15.

|| Id. 19.

cordingly domestic retirement was a virtue of the middle ages. Bernardine Scardeonio, speaking of the illustrious women of Padua, accounts for his not enumerating many by observing that they, being modest and virtuous, prefer remaining concealed and unknown to being seen in public *. Men of the greatest genius, so far from evincing a contrary disposition, were observed, like Michael Angelo, to shun society, and to love retreat, if not solitude. "What can conduce more to piety and justice, and to a freer life," says Cardan, "than to live in your house hidden and removed from the public scene †?" Cardan remarks that all ambitious persons are afflicted with anger, either open or concealed; for many things, he says, must happen to make them angry, since they never think that they are treated according to their just claim ‡: and thus the most irreconcilable enmities are those which have the least foundation. Such men, as Horace says, will hear nothing that can extenuate that which offends them. They will repel the physician; they will be angry with the friend. "They live all their life long," as Plato says, "friends to no one, but always either tyrannizing over some one, or else in a state of servile submission to some one; but of peace and true friendship they never taste §." From such misery men, in ages of faith, were more free. Religion so triumphed over natural impossibilities that even persons prone to anger knew that their anger was unjust. The peace of all relationship was therefore less disturbed. The spirit of Charlemagne in this respect belonged to the middle ages, for like him men readily contracted friendships and retained them constantly, and worshipped them holily ||. Men were not obliged to arm themselves with the same vanity as a defence against that of others. They were not angry if others were more proud than themselves. They had learned to estimate pride in themselves as well as in others. Their prayer was that of Fulbert of Chartres:

"Da procul à nobis elatio sistat ut omnis,
Quo tibi submissi placeamus pectore puro.
Iræ compescens stimulos, fac nos patientes."

* De Antiq. Petav. iii. 16.

† De Utilitate ex advers. lib. iii. cap. 4.

‡ Id. lib. iii. c. 11.

§ De Repub. ix.

|| Chroniques de St. Denis.

In their hospitality they sought concord, not rivalry. Their dinner, like that of the ancient philosopher, might have convinced the guest that the desire of money did not disturb their peace *. Their paleness was not that of men who rise from the ambiguous supper †. “I delight in a simple table, and I hate a luxurious one, either at home or with others,” says an ancient Italian writer ‡. In the fourteenth century the nobles of Pavia, when they invited friends, had a less sumptuous board than the tradespeople and artisans §. Antiquity remarked that the poet Ennius, the friend of Scipio, lived so simply in his house on Mount Aventine, that he kept but one servant, and that a woman. The middle ages beheld the same absence of vanity and its train in families. Brunellesco lived with the first sculptor of his age, Donatello, as the workmen of our times hardly live.

“Let gay and toilsome greatness others please,
He loves of homely littleness the ease.”

When a man had a house, and a wife in that house, and as Homer says, a boy such as every one would wish a son to be,

Καὶ παῖς ὅλον πού τις ἐέλδεται ἔμμεναι υἷα,

the order of the family was not so dependent upon servants. The prayer of St. Thomas Aquinas, “That he might with respect to the care of his own person be troublesome to no one,” was a very general desire. Sons did not disdain to perform menial service; so that when Imogen puts on boy’s clothes, she finds the life they indicate laborious; yet though tiresome, familiar acts were beautiful through love. In the charming picture of domestic peace given by an anonymous author of the fourteenth century, representing the manners of the Paduans, we find that youths of the noblest houses used to serve at table when their fathers entertained their friends ||.

To illustrate Cardan’s remark that sweeter are all things which retain the appearance of their contraries, one might have noticed this frugality in the rich, and

* Tusc. v.

† Hor. Sat. ii. 2.

‡ Ant. Galatei, Descript. Callipolis in Thesaur. Antiq. It. ix.

§ Anon. Ticinens. de laudibus Papiæ, 13.

|| Mur. Antiq. It. diss. xxiii.

the coarse simple dress and menial duties of their sons. The heir of the family played the part of the most amiable of the Homeric gods; he was a sort of Mercury, a mere simple lad, heedless of the wet or dusty foot, to serve as a guide to strangers ἐπὶ τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὑγρὴν. When Pope Boniface VIII. granted the indulgence to all who visited Rome at the jubilee, which caused such immense multitudes of both sexes and of all ages to repair thither, we read that “many youths who had no horses or carriages carried their fathers and mothers on their shoulders and necks; and there was such peace and quiet through all Italy that every one went securely*.” In Catholic countries the same spectacle may still be seen on occasion of any great pilgrimage. Peace was with servants in each family, as St. Augustin said. Cervantes represents a lover and his expected bride, accompanied with their fathers and mothers, and many relatives, and with all their domestics, enjoying a party of pleasure in common in a delicious garden on the sea-shore. Great importance was attached to this loving intercourse between all members of a house. Cardan praising the Venetian patricians, particularly notices their gracious and liberal manners towards their servants†. He recommends the utmost gentleness and benignity in regard to them; “for,” says he, “in our times, on account of religion, since all men are men, domestics are used in place of servants‡.” Sidonius Apollinaris says of his contemporary, the noble warrior Vectius, “In the interior of his house he never speaks in a tone of scolding, and never receives counsel with a disdainful air; and he is not severe to search out faults. He governs all who are subject to him less by authority than by reason. One would say he was rather the steward than the master of his house§.” Michael Angelo, when his servant Urbino was on his death-bed, watched day and night by his bed, notwithstanding his own infirmities. He writes of him as follows to Vasari: “My friend, I shall write ill, but I must reply to your letter. Urbino, you know, is dead. That has been both a favour to me from God and a subject of bitter grief—a favour because he who in his life

* Annal. Veteres Mutinensium ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xi.

† De Util. ex advers. iii. 2.

‡ Id. iv. 2.

§ Ap. Fauriel, i. 400.

took care of me, has taught me in dying, not alone to die without regret, but to desire death. He lived with me twenty-six years, always good, intelligent, and faithful. I had enriched him; and the moment when I thought to find in him a staff for my old age, he escapes, leaving me only the hope of seeing him again in heaven. I dare reckon on it." Then, in a letter to Cornelia, his widow, he promises to adopt their son, and love him with more affection than the children of his nephew. Marguerite of Louvain, the patron of servants, was a domestic in that city, whose attachment to her master and mistress was sufficiently attested by her resolution to embrace a religious life along with them. Let us hear Dionysius the Carthusian addressing married persons. "Act and speak to your servants as you would wish others to do to you if you were a servant," says Pope St. Gregory the Great. "The master and mistress should show themselves towards all their servants loving, patient, humble, and pacific, while at the same time, just: they should treat them like brothers and sisters, and co-heirs of a celestial kingdom. Never should they speak proudly or severely to them; but if any fault should be committed in the family, they ought piously and patiently to bear it, or with charity to correct it, remembering how many faults are committed by servants, and yet how God has mercy on them. Moreover servants must not be fatigued with immoderate labour, and they must be promptly paid; and St. Augustin says that the master should discharge an episcopal office in his house by instruction and example*." These remarks applied also to the life of apprentices in the middle ages. Of the amiable relation in which they stood to their superiors, and of the graceful manners required from them, some idea may be formed from the rules which they were to observe in order to ingratiate themselves with old and young†.

The ancient philosophers recognized the importance of exercising a pacific temper in the management of the family. The Pythagorean discipline required mildness and placability; and it used to be said that no one ever saw a disciple angry, or beat a servant‡. Nevertheless,

* De Laud. Vita conjugatorum, a. 15.

† Michelet, *Introd. à l'Hist. Univ.*

‡ Jamblich. de Pyth. vita, c. 31.

there is little reason to suppose that any thing like the Christian peace, which reigned in houses during ages of faith, was ever obtained, before or since, where the same religion was not found.

“Patience,” says Tertullian, “ornaments the woman, proves the man; it is loved in a boy; it is praised in a youth; it is revered in an old man; in every age it is beautiful*.”

Our artisans have effectually contrived to prevent in houses a noise which Homer found inseparable from the opening of magnificent doors; the resound from the locks of which he compares to the roaring of a bull†. It would be well if ours had arrived at less perfection, provided there was no other jarring sound more odious to the mind that loves tranquillity. But it is easier to regulate a piece of mechanism than the human heart; and so, while all is perfected in the material order beneath our roofs, the wrangling, and the contradiction, and the sharp retort, in which men are so valiant where angry conference is held, continue day by day. The Pythagorean precept, never to stir fire with a sword, is not a household maxim, where harsh words are deemed the best and only medicine for the passionate. In the middle ages Catholics had their maxims not less quaint and expressive.

“It would be wise to forget much for quietness,” says the Spanish proverb. “*Lingua placabilis ligno vitæ est comparabilis*,” says another, in the Collection of Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the Emperor Conrad‡. Don Antonio de Guevarra, instructing a gentleman of Valencia in the duties of a husband, tells him that if he wishes to reply to every word of an angry person, neither the strength of Samson nor the wisdom of Solomon would suffice to him§. The manners consequent on faith had preserved families from the war of those whom anger could soon vanquish. None under the true discipline were “sad, in the sweet air made gladsome by the sun, carrying a foul and lazy mist within, pining in their fierce ire as if some great wrong they had sustained||.” Against what the ancient poet terms the loathsome dis-

* De Patientia.

† Od. xxi. 49.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.

§ Epist. 1.

|| Dante, i. 7.

ease of an unbridled tongue the Church had made express provision, so that in ages of faith the peace of domestic life was more secured. We have before seen what was the dignity which it imparted to servants. The simplicity of Catholic manners dispensed with services that are painful and humiliating; and when essential duties were neglected, the remedy was not of a kind to disturb peace.

Preaching before the emperor Charles V., Guevara, Bishop of Mondonedo, demands, "May we be angry with servants when they do not perform what we command, and when they murmur? I answer, No. We should explain their fault to them, and if they do not correct themselves, dismiss them*." Passionate language was to be as alien from the family as from the school.

We read in the statutes of a synod, in the year 1247, that inquiry was to be made, whether any one was addicted to anger, and if any such were found, he was to be advised to lay aside his rancour†. In the time of Charlemagne, a penance of three years was imposed on persons who cherished anger‡. Against impatience in the conduct of a household many excellent books were provided§. No thunder of words was heard in religious families, in which it was a law to speak in a soft, gentle tone||.

"Lo, when on a journey," says St. Bonaventura, teaching the shame of anger, "the intemperance of the air sometimes afflicts us, and when we escape to shelter we are glad, and think of it no more. So should we forget the detractions and injuries of men¶." Domestic life, it must be remembered, was then in harmony with the scholastic, from which, if it exists any where, a boy now returning to his parents' house will often have occasion to repeat the exclamation of the lad bred with Plato, who, when he came home, and heard his father

* Epist. liv. 11.

† Statuta Eccles. Cenomanens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. vii.

‡ De Remed. Peccat. tom. vii.

§ Drexelius, Gymnas. Patient. i. 6.

|| Drexelii de Univ. Vitiis Linguæ, c. 35.

¶ De Profectu Religios. lib. i. 31.

vociferating, cried, "I never witnessed this while I was with Plato." John Francis says of his uncle, John Picus of Mirandula, "He was always placid and mild; nothing could disturb him, and no one ever saw him angry *." Such was the type of the head of the Catholic family in ages of faith, and, in one respect, that of the son might be seen in Hector, of whom Helen says, in her lamentations at his funeral, that during the twenty years of her residence in his father's house, she never received from him an insulting word; and that though others might revile her, he was always to her like a father, gentle and mild †. Nevertheless, what may seem incredible to many, the servant sometimes sought to have a froward master, and courted sufferings from his bad temper. When Bourdoise was a youth, he used to leave a master if he found him kind, in order to seek one stern and difficult, from whom he would be sure to meet with ill-treatment ‡. Probably he had difficulty in finding such. Innumerable passages of ancient books enable us to perceive what were the delicious fruits of peace in the houses of Catholics in ages of faith. Virtue and knowledge, gentleness and love—all that could make this world a scene of delight—were all combined in them. Petrarch speaks of the sweet place where he had spent his days amidst his family. Such was the home to which the scholar sighed to return, and which the pilgrim loved to behold in passing; when, being called to tell his tale, like Ulysses, he used to come after sun-set to join in the conversation, sitting near the fire §. Such a home was the Castle of Capranica, among the mountains of Capræ, where Petrarch was received to hospitality, which presented such a picture of peace, and sweetness, and concord, with all the elegance of the muses, while wars and hatred desolated all the country around, that he compares it to roses and lilies amidst thorns ||. "Who could believe," he says, "that Capranica was the residence of the mildest and most amiable of men? Orso, Count of Anquillora, tranquil in the midst of this confusion, lives with his wife in the happiest union, gives the most obliging reception to his guests, governs his vassals with a strictness tem-

* Vita ejus.

† xxiv. 767.

‡ Vie de Bourdoise, liv. i. 14.

§ Od. xvii. 570.

|| Epist. ii. 13.

pered with love, cultivates the muses, and seeks the society of men of learning. Agnes Colonna, his wife, is one of those women who can only be praised by a silent admiration, so much does she rise above all that can be said to her honour." For the pilgrim, it is true, there was a peaceful roof provided even in the common hostel, as old charters can attest; for in 1394 Aymon de Chissé, Bishop of Grenoble, explained his motive for building in the street Chenoise a hospice to receive pilgrims and poor travellers who should pass that way, by saying, in the act of foundation, "that he wished the building might serve them for a port, in which, amidst the agitation of their bad fortune, they may taste calm at least for a few moments *." As we see in the tales of Cervantes, holy images and symbols of peace were round the hostel yard: the very inn was thus peaceful. But in the family which received the pilgrim in their villa or their castle hall he found the same repose for his heart: there he loved to sit, not to hear them tell of parentage and birth, and echo conversations dull and dry, or else "that common, false, cold, hollow talk which makes the heart deny the yes it breathes;" but because sweet and simple and yet subtle words would cheer the winter's night, and make him love each member of that family; and the fire would flash upon his face till the day might dawn, and make him wonder at his stay; there no smooth good-breeding, supplemental grace, with lean performance, aped the work of love. There he found, not what the poet dreads—"a duel in the form of a debate, the clash of arguments and jar of words, worse than the mortal brunt of rival swords." In social intercourse, argumentation and vehemence were deprecated as subversive of tranquillity, and of the serene, affable tone which should distinguish it †. What he wished, was true. The books that had engaged their childhood pleased them at a riper age, the man approving what had charmed the boy, and, therefore, they lived in comfort, and delight, and peace. The idle persons, condemned by the Apostle, who went from house to house, talkative and indulging in that curiosity which the ancient poet says is always malevolent ‡, formed an infinitely small portion of society in the middle ages,

* Notice Chron. sur les Evêques de Grenoble.

† Petrarch. Epist. ix. 10.

‡ Plautus, Stichus, i. 3.

when men regarded as deadly crimes detraction and the habit of looking into the vices of friends, with eagle eyes, which even the Gentiles branded *.

“Be not inquisitive,” said religion; “what is it to you whether such a person be this or that, whether he acts or says so? You will not have to answer for others. Commit all to God, who sees and knows all, and preserve yourself in peace, and send away the agitator to agitate as much as he wishes.”

Great importance was attached to the cultivation of a simple, tranquil, and open manner; and this language, for manner is also a language, and the most persuasive of all, as a late diplomatist observed, was sure to preserve peace in families. The brightness of domestic joy was not overshadowed, therefore, by the presence of a gloomy mourner, talking of being vexed of late with passions of some difference, conceptions only proper to himself, which give some soil, perhaps, to his behaviour. The men of the ages of faith have not to tell us how they spun a shroud of talk to hide them from the sun of this familiar life, and that this seems to be but quaint mockery of all that they would believe. The sweet charms of domestic peace could rivet them to home; their hope, besides, was not built upon the false earth's inconstancy.

William Ventura, writing in 1310, in his *Chronicles of Asti* inserts his own testament, and the instructions he gave his sons, to whom he says, “If you should be troubled in person or property, be patient towards all men, and do not, on that account, cause sadness to your families; for I was in many troubles, and by patience the Lord delivered me; and remember that by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God †.” The feeling ascribed to Philoctetes by Sophocles, which is so prevalent wherever the Catholic religion does not exist in all its force, leaves but few traces in the literature of the ages of faith. From hours of musing then men drew forgiveness, and not a still greater abhorrence of reconciliation. “Self-love,” says one of these humble guides, “closes the eyes of the mind, and is the cause, and root, and nourishment of all evils. O Lord Jesu

* Hor. Sat. iii.

† Chronic. Astense, 157. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xi.

Christ, Sun, whence flow the rays of love, how insane is he who loves only himself * !” Thus peace was with the meek and lowly of heart. Differences of character and of graces were, indeed, in each house; but, say contemporary writers, “peace was with the two lives; the discordant life was absent from that family, being neither with Martha nor with Mary, or, if it was there for a moment, on the Lord entering it fled.” “In a house in which Christ is received,” says Peter of Blois, “there ought to be no murmurs of Martha complaining of Mary; yet it is pious and pleasant that it should be Martha who complains of Mary, and not Mary of Martha†.” “There may be differences,” says St. Augustin, “such as between Barnabas and Paul, which did not kill charity, or as when you resist yourself sometimes without hating yourself ‡.” “Thus the apostles,” says St. Bonaventura, “differed sometimes from each other, as did even the angels, as we remark in the Book of Daniel§”. But the spirit of the Catholic family was one of universal kindness. The epithet, my gentle son, my gentle mother, which men used on every occasion, sheds a beautiful light on the character of the age. What domestic harmony breathes in the spiritual dialogue of John Gerson, addressed to his five sisters, in which he speaks with such affection of them, and of his two brothers, and of their father and mother || ! Never was natural affection so holy or more intense. “Our life is finished, our child is lost,” is the exclamation of parents in one of our old books, arguing a more just affection than those cries of Priam, who, in grief for the death of Hector, inveighs against his other sons, calling them liars and evil children, and wishing that they had perished¶. But religion soothed the gentle heart, and the gentleness of the dove was the type of all. Men were gentle in every thing, in disposition, manner, desires, constructions. That beauty of life, which Denys the Carthusian distinguishes in his Treatise on the Beauty of the World, was found in the Catholic family. Ambrose Leo says that the people of Nola so love beauty

* *Idiotæ Contemp.* 31.

† *Sermo xxxv.*

‡ In *Ps. xxxiii.* Enar.

§ *Determinationes Quæstionum circa Reg. S. Franc.* 20.

|| *Gersonis Opera*, tom. iii.

¶ *Il.* xxiv. 253.

and elegance in every thing, that even in choosing names for their sons and daughters they select such as are most beautiful *. Their hearts, in short, were the home of every amiable affection that makes peace. In their writings they wish to transmit the dear familiar name; in their paintings, as we may witness in the cloisters of Florence, they represent, for saints, their wives, and sons, and fathers; on their tombs they wish to perpetuate the memory of the peace that they enjoyed on earth. Thus, on that of Guido de Rochfort and his wife, the illustrious Lady Mary de Chambellan, in the abbey of Citeaux, it was said that she was a mirror of peace, and that the peace of that family was never troubled.

“ Quoncques entre eulx ny eust nul desarroy
 Noise, ou discorde, mais en paix, en joie
 Et en amour, qui est de tout bien mon joye
 Ils ont vescu ensemble tout leur temps †.”

One can form an estimate of the tone of peace and innocence, which was deemed essential to domestic life in all its relations, from reading the beautiful admonitions of Ratherius of Verona, given to all members of a house, to married persons, to children, boys, youths, and old men ‡: and Dante, too, enables us to collect what was the interior of many families in his time, when saying that youth has for its portion obedience and gentleness, modesty and beauty; that its ornaments are tenderness, courtesy, loyalty, temperance, and strength; and that old age is the season for imparting what has been learned, that it is the hour when the rose opens and sheds its perfume; that its properties are prudence, justice, kindness, and affability §.

In ages of faith, as at present in Catholic countries, we find families invested with an Homeric and patriarchal character, which argued the maintenance of peace. Under the paternal roof in the house of Priam the fifty sons dwelt with their wives, and the fifty daughters

* De Nola, lib. iii. c. 6. ap. Græv. Thesaur. Ant. It. tom. ix.

† Voyage de Deux Benedict. x. 203.

‡ Ratherii Ver. Episcop. Præloquiorum, lib. ii. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. ix.

§ Ozanam, Essai sur la Phil. de Dante, 161.

with their husbands *. Similarly, in the castles of the middle ages, as in France at present, the married children remained with their parents.

“ I only ask one thing,” said a young French bridegroom to an Italian girl who was to be his wife, and my revered friend Father de Geramb heard the words, “ it is that you respect my father and mother, as I respect them, and then I shall endeavour every day of my life, to render you happy †.” What may seem strange to some, discord was not among even the servants of different masters, as in the house of Lear’s daughter. Daughters were then bred in blessed Mary’s school, of whom the church says, “ when did she ever by her countenance offend her parents? When did she dissent from her relatives? When did she disdain the humble? Nothing stern in her eyes, nothing harsh in her words, nothing petulant in her tone.” Filial obedience, I must repeat it, was deemed a subject of historical importance. The Chronicles of St. Denis praise Louis le gros, “ because he never in all his life caused the least trouble to his father ‡.” Beautiful is the exhortation of Wipo to the Emperor Henry III. to induce him to be ever grateful to his pious mother, who had taken such care to have him well instructed. He says to him,

“ Cum valeas alios acquirere semper amicos
Mater in hac vita non plus tibi venerit ulla §.”

The respect due to the elder members of each family was maintained by the positive authority of religion, rather than by any general reasoning like that of Pythagoras ||. Legislators even in a paternal way enforced it. The ancient law of Berne provided that the grandmother should have the best place at the fire-side, and that if a married man continued to reside with his mother, he should always resign to her the best place every where ¶. This respect was shown after death.

On All Souls’ eve it was the custom to place chairs round the fire, and to leave them vacant for those who

* Il. vi. . † Pélerinage, &c. ii. 209. ‡ Ad an. 1108.

§ Wiponis Pang. ap. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. tom. iii.

|| Jamblich. de Pyth. vita, 8.

¶ Michelet, Origines du Droit, 414.

used to occupy them *. I have found in ancient noble French families the memory still fresh, of sons and daughters who when themselves aged, would always remain standing, till their fathers and mothers were seated. "He who wishes to lead a tranquil life," says Cardan, "must above all things have a well-constituted house †." Religion secured this for men.

I would rather not be an emperor and an humble son, than an emperor and undutiful son. Such were the words of an emperor's son; and Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, after citing them to Henry, eldest son of Henry II., adds, "I wish you knew how sweet, how delightful a thing it is to have, and having, to venerate parents. This most sweet delight is often not appreciated until parents are lost ‡." Richard I. felt this on his death-bed when he ordered that his body should be buried in the abbey of Fonteverau at the feet of his father, as if to implore his forgiveness. Great advancement did not interrupt the sweet charities of familiar life; mark an instance:—Master Peter de Vineis to his most pious mother, her most devout son wisheth the constancy of the subjection of her children. "Returning to conscience, I recognize that not for my merits hath the divine clemency exalted poor me, and of soft clay formed me, when it granted me a fit place in the imperial court, and favour in the eyes of the prince; for God had respect to the humility of my mother, his hand-maiden, and of my poor little sister, leading hitherto a sorrowful life: because he wished by me his servant to dispel their poverty. Salubrious admonitions are kindled therefore, dear mother, before the eyes of my mind, and thus I will conduct myself humbly as long as I live, that in all good works I may please God and all good men §."

Filial love followed men to the cloisters. Hermannis Contractus, the monk of Reichnaw, though his Chronicle is but a short chronological view of the most remarkable events from Adam to his own time, inserts at great length an account of his own mother's death. "This year," saith he, "1052, my mother Hiltrud, wife of Count

* Monteiel. Hist. des Français, tom. viii. 380.

† De Util. ex advers. lib. i. cap. 2.

‡ Petr. Bles. Epist. xlvii.

§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. ii. p. 1160.

Wolfrad, a pious, mild, liberal, and religious woman, made her devout and happy transit from this miserable life, in her sixty-first year. She was buried at Aleshausen, under the chapel of St. Udalric, and I placed these lines upon her tomb.

‘ Mater egenorum, spes auxiliumque suorum :
Religione pios præ cunctis fovit amicos :
Cunctis morigeram se dedit et placidam,
Atque manens mitis, patiens, ac nescia litis
Complacuit mundo, O utinamque Deo,
Crede panegyricis non hæc me fingere vanis,
Nec matrem verbis tollere falsidicis :
Consule rumorem quaquaversum popularem,
Dictaque de veris paucula, certus eris*.’ ”

The monk of the middle ages can give but one line to relate the fall of empires; he devotes a page to commemorate his mother. Fraternal love has left many traces. Thus in the cathedral of Laon, on the tomb of Reinold and Hildegard his sister, were these verses :

“ In vita cari, post mortem hic quoque juncti ;
Hos nec mors dirimit, quos humus una tegit.
Hi duo diversas tenuerunt ordine vitas,
Vir speculativam, femina pragmaticam.
Hos igitur tibimet pariter conjungere cœlo
Non dedigneris, Christe redemptor. Amen †.”

We have before seen what a part obedience from a sense of duty played in Catholic society. Belial the Demon's name was known to signify without a yoke, or without a master, because “ as far as he can,” says St. Bonaventura, “ he resists Him to whom he ought to be subject ‡.” One chapter of St. Bonaventura's tract on the six wings of the seraphim, is entitled, “ qui sunt qui magistro non indigent. Since it is rare,” he concludes, “ to find such, there are but few who should live without the yoke of obedience. Therefore they who preside over others, ought to have others over them, whom they may obey, up to the chief pontiff himself, who is the Vicar of Christ.” Here then evidently was great provision for

* Herm. Cont. Chronic. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. tom. iii.

† Voyage de Deux Benedict. 46.

‡ Comp. Theol. Verit. lib. ii. 26.

peace in the family, and in the state. Moreover, the practices of religion secured the tranquillity of the house. To represent the occupations of life at the present day, where the manners of faith have perished, the shield of Achilles would be quite sufficient. War, ambuscades, marriages, feasts, lawsuits, plunder, agriculture, the harvest and vintage, song and dancing, fill up completely the circle. In ages of faith we must recollect men had other exercises, more redolent of tranquillity. We have before remarked that the very construction of houses indicated thoughtful, and we may here add, peaceful habits. Sometimes an inscription expressly proclaimed that the family was in a deep religious sense at peace. Thus over the door of a house in the eighth century, there were these beautiful lines :

“ Qui Ægyptios agni dudum de sanguine postes
Signavit, nostros signat et ipse Deus *.”

In the description of the hotel of St. Paul, at Paris, in the time of King Charles V. we read of “ the great chamber of retreat,” and also of “ the chamber of study.” In the apartment of the Duke of Orleans, there was a cabinet, which was called “ the retreat where Monsieur Louis de France says his Hours †.” That interior life indicated by the mere plan and form of these ancient houses, whether isolated in the country or in cities, bespeaks the calm which is so remarkable in ancient writings. In those long galleries, those vaulted chambers, those turrets, those solemn chapels, those obscure passages leading to some secret room, where the winds seemed to bear sweet music when they breathed through the dim lattice, men of former times found a peace which the world without could seldom give. Here was facility for recollection, gravity and silence. On the window of a house as old as the time of Charlemagne, were these verses inscribed :

“ Ne David grabatum tentator callidus intret
Signetur Domini ista fenestra manu.
Quadrus evangelii defendat numerus omne
Corpus et interius cunctipotens animam ‡.”

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

† Michelet, iii. 486.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

Where the chapel was not part of the edifice, access to the sanctuary was always near. From the old palace of the Counts of Flanders at Bruges, those princes could pass through upper halls under the same roof to the church of St. Donat, in which Charles the Good was murdered, at one side, and to the chapel of the holy blood at the other. In each house every night, God was implored to send his holy angels to dwell in it, and to keep its inhabitants in peace: and the angels being of the school of Him who loves peace, as Peter of Blois says, “being themselves heralds of peace, sons of peace, were known to require above all things peace and concord, so that St. Peter desiring the peace of the angelic society, said, ‘above all things have mutual charity *.’” Of this domestic peace in ages of faith, the basis no doubt was the sanctity of marriage, on which we before dwelt, and the sacramental character with which the conjugal state was invested. The diploma granted by William, King of Sicily, to his wife Jane, daughter of Henry, King of England, begins with these words, “the conjugal bond is made venerable by the altitude of the sacrament, that it may bind more strongly among other goods of peace, the concord of human things †.” As the church says in an ancient formula, “society was constituted by that nuptial benediction which alone has not been rescinded either by the penalty of original sin or by the sentence of the deluge ‡.” In these ages of retiring virtue, marriage was a yoke of love, as the church wished it to be, and as our Shakspeare says,

“A pattern of celestial peace.”

The type of wedlock then was witnessed in Duke Louis of Thuringia, and St. Elizabeth, to whom Montalembert compares the picture which Dante gives of a celestial marriage, saying, “their concord and glad looks, wonder and love, and sweet regard, gave birth to holy thoughts §.” On thrones men beheld the loving unions of St. Louis and his Marguerite, of Edward I. and his

* Pet. Bles. Sermo xxxix.

† Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. i. 902.

‡ Id. xi.

§ Par. xi.

Eleonora. "They who are married," says Denis the Carthusian, "should entertain for each other a fourfold love : spiritual, from a consideration of the sacramental bond ; natural, from a similarity of nature, or from regard to their personal qualities, or natural gifts ; social, in consideration of the pleasure of their mutual conversation ; and even common or ordinary, according to the sentence of St. Thomas, who says, ' that it may be lawful within the limits prescribed by God *.' " The church could reckon so securely upon these fruits, that we find it was a constant practice in the middle ages, to terminate discords by a marriage. " One of the benefits resulting from marriage," says Denis the Carthusian, " is, that it often extinguishes enmities between kings and princes, and others, appeasing troubles, and thus saving whole provinces †."

Shakspeare's friar knew this well, and therefore when he first hears of Romeo's love for Juliet, he anticipates a peace between their rival houses :

" Come, young waverer, come go with me,
In one respect I'll thy assistant be ;
For this alliance may so happy prove,
To turn your household's rancour to pure love."

Thus Friar John, of Vicenza, ordained, for the sake of peace, a marriage between the Lady Adelaide, daughter of Lord Alberic, of Romana, and Rainald, son of the Marquis of Este, which measure was received with joy and praise by the crowd, who were present when he proposed it ‡. A bloody feud having divided the house of the Counts of Landsberg, Pope Innocent III. prepared to terminate it by a marriage §. The letter of the college of cardinals to the princes of Italy, desiring them to receive with honour the Princess Clementia, the betrothed of Charles of Salerno, on her passage, begins thus : " The Apostolic See revolving thoughts of peace, and preparing quiet as far as it can for the Christian people, that they may dwell in secure tabernacles, and may rest in opulent repose, hath advisedly provided for

* De Laud. Vitæ Conjugatorum, a. x. † Id.

‡ Gerardi Maurisii Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

§ Hurter, ii. 739.

a union by the bond of affinity between the two illustrious sons of the church, Rodolph and Charles, Kings of the Romans and of Sicily, to the tranquillity and peace of Christianity, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith, which will be promoted by their concord and unanimity*.” In 1312 it was decreed by the council of the citizens of Brescia, that to preserve peace between the noble families that had been so long at variance under the banners of Guelph and Gibelline, the daughters of the former should be married to the sons of the latter, and the sons of the latter to the daughters of the former. Then the son of Bertolus de Madiis was married to the daughter of Federico de Griffis, and the daughter of the same Bertolus to Gerard de Bruxati, whose son was given to the daughter of Peter de Yseo. Many other marriages were then celebrated for the same object†. Again in 1334, in consequence of a discord which existed between the Marquises of Boscho and the Malaspinas, the Lady Agnes, daughter of Lord William de Boscho, was given in marriage to Lord Frederic Malaspina‡. In the year 1244, the government of Bologna, we read, made peace between many of the citizens, as between the Dalfino’s and the Malatacho’s, the Torelli’s and the Andalo’s, the Griffoni’s and the same Andalo’s, and many others, for which purpose many marriages were made§. In 1258 Lord Albert of Dalfino was married to the daughter of Ecceline de Torelli, “and on this occasion,” adds the historian, “the two last from being enemies were made friends.” Similarly in 1260 many other marriages were made between rival and hostile houses, in order to promote peace||. Another writer, in 1330, says, “that the inhabitants of Pavia, who, ignoble as well as noble, have all their peculiar family emblems, never contract marriages between persons of the same race, but that it is their custom

* Martene, Vet. Script. Coll. ii. p. 1278.

† Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, ix. 26. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xiv.

‡ Chronic. Placentinum ap. id. tom. xvi.

§ Mat. de Griffonibus Memoriale Historic. Rer. Bonon. ap. id. tom. xviii.

|| Id.

always to marry into strange families, whether of equal or unequal rank, and to contract such alliance with persons of rival or hostile houses, in order to possess or preserve peace *.” “ In the time of the Emperor Conrad II. William Marchesella, of the family of the Adelards, was chief of one of the parties in Ferrara, Taurellus Salinguerra being head of the adverse. After his return from the holy land, William having no offspring, adopted as his heiress, Marchesalla, the infant daughter of his brother Adelard. Then wishing to provide lovingly for the safety and peace of the republic of Ferrara, lest it should be torn by discords and wars, he, by his testament, which I have seen, and which is deposited in my hands,” says the historian, “ delivered his adopted heiress, not yet seven years old, to the guardianship of Taurello, the chief of the adverse party, as the future spouse of his son †.” Petrus Cellensis writes as follows to a cardinal: “ All things that are done in the church of God, are to be adapted to the great rule left by Christ for all Catholic fathers, which declares that all the law and the prophets are included in the love of God and our neighbour; therefore, venerable father, dispensations are not unworthily granted for a greater and better recompence. We wish you to know what evils and what slaughter of men have afflicted our lands in consequence of the wars of certain noble men, Count Vischard de Ruzeius and the Count Recensis and Hugo de Petripont. Innumerable men have been slain or taken captive. Religious houses have been plundered, and other evils caused. At length by the intervention of good and wise and religious men, they are disposed to contract marriages amongst themselves, that, at least by those ties, they may be induced to keep peace. Therefore let your discretion judge whether the obstacles on account of consanguinity ought not to be removed by the dispensation of the Pope, for the sake of peace and putting an end to so many evils ‡.” Thus it seems never to have entered into the imagination of men in ages of faith, that marriage could be any

* Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, ap. id. c. 13. tom. xi.

† Chronica Parva Ferrariensis, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. viii.

‡ Pet. Cellens. Epist. lib. vi. 3.

thing but a source and bond of amity and peace: in fact the influence was not confined to the immediate family. "One of the benefits of marriage," says Denis the Carthusian, "is that it extends and secures friendship between many persons, since all the relations of the young man and woman are thus brought to love one another as connections *." So in an ancient formula, the church says, in blessing the bride, "Floreatis rerum præsentium copiis, fructificetis decenter in filiis, gaudeatis perenniter cum amicis †." Don Antonio de Guevara speaks of his resolution not to repeat his visits to a house where he was received with such maigre looks, that he left it quite confused, repeating the words, "quia faciem frigoris ejus quis sustinebit?" Such were not domestic manners in his time: the Catholic wife of the ages of faith was not like the spectral lady of Aprigny, who presents to every one a frozen hand; wherever she appeared, there were the sweet fruits of peace. "It is natural," says an ancient German law, "that woman should protect whatever is pursued. A wolf even who should seek refuge near a woman, ought to be suffered to live for her love ‡." Perhaps it was from this sentiment that by ancient laws the house was an asylum, sacred as a church. "If a man be pursued by an armed man to the house of another," says the law of Augsbourg, "or even to the stable, the armed man will have outraged the master of that house; and if he enter, the outrage will be more serious still." "To enable her husband to live pacifically and with delectation," says Denis the Carthusian, "is the office of a good wife; and it is a great happiness for her when she has a pacific husband: so before contracting marriage, there should be an enquiry into the disposition of both parties relative to their love of peace §." This harmony of families can be collected even from the old charters of foundations, which so often specify, that they are granted at the desire, or even by the order of mothers or wives. Thus at the end of a donation to the Carthusians of Chalais, we read, "the seal of Count Guigo d'Albon, who made this donation; the seal of Matilda, who ordered this donation to be made." It was this Princess Matilda who

* De Laud. Vitæ Conjug. 2.

† Ap. Martene, tom. ii.

‡ Michelet, Origines du Droit, 328.

§ De Vit. Conjug. 14.

persuaded her husband, the same Count Guigo d'Albon, to make peace with St. Hugues, Bishop of Grenoble. Thus again in the letters of foundation of the Grand Chartreuse, we read, "I Humbert de Miribel, together with Odo and others who have jurisdiction here:" and these are Pontius and Boso, at the prayers and intervention of their mother.

Pictures of the domestic peace resulting from love in marriage, abound in our ancient books and monuments. Witness these ancient crosses and priories, erected to mark the spot where the bodies of deceased husbands and wives rested for a moment on their way to the grave. The priory of the holy cross between the castles of Eu and Tréport, was founded by Robert, Count of Eu, in memory of the body of Beatrix, his wife, having been laid down there while the bearers rested. The chronicles of St. Denis abound with examples which occur incidentally, and the simplicity with which they describe the grief of the survivor is often affecting. "*Elle ne vesqui que un pou de temps, ne n'ot oncques puis joie en son cuer **." Such is the style of these passages, of which we saw instances in a former book. We observed also before, that love was proclaimed in affectionate terms upon tombs. What testimonies to conjugal affection do we find on sepulchres in the beautiful regions of Italy, which are so many proofs of the domestic peace that had reigned in these delicious villas! On one at Sorentum, John Orificius thus speaks:

"Heu mihi quas lacrimas conjux gemitusque dolenti
 Linquis! quos reliquos ad mea damna dies?
 At tantum lacrimæ tristes gemitusque valebunt
 Dum felix tecum condar in hoc tumulo †."

Charles Schott styles the tomb of his wife in the church of St. Gudule, at Brussels, "a monument of love and sorrow." After stating her premature death, he adds: "*Vel homo non sit, vel æternum doleret! Ego certe divulsam à me animam non prius lugere desinam, quam mihi cum ea perennare detur in cœlis cum qua ne annare quidem datum in terris.*" On the tomb

* *Antiq. et Hist. Campaniæ, ap. Græv. It. Ant. It. ix.*

† *Ad an. 1270.*

of the very illustrious princess Lady Mary of Burgundy, wife of Maximilian, afterwards King of the Romans, we read, "Four years and nine months did she live with her husband graciously and in great love." In the convent of the Franciscans was the tomb of Catharine Nogaret de la Valette, on which was an affecting epitaph, stating that her husband, Henry, Duc de Joyeuse, through grief at the loss of such a sweet and holy wife, renounced the world and devoted himself to God in the order of Capuchins, in which he died, as frère Ange, in 1608, in his forty-first year. Collections of letters bear the same testimony. Truly affecting is that of Einhard to Lupus, Abbot of Ferrers, relating the death of his wife * ; and that of Don Antonio Guevara, Bishop of Mondonedo, in the time of Charles V., to console the commander Angulo on the death of his wife Aldonca, whom he advises to go to communion, to visit hospitals, moderate his expressions of grief, and set more value on being a true Catholic than a disconsolate widower. What affection was evinced by Henrietta de Savoy, when the idea of losing her husband, the Duke of Mayenne, caused her a sickness which terminated in death before his obsequies were celebrated, so that they were both carried together to the same vault in the cathedral of Soissons. Vittoria Colonna, daughter of Fabricio, on the death of her husband Ferdinand d'Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, renounced the world in the full lustre of her beauty, and consecrated her talents to celebrate his memory. The chivalrous romances, as pictures of real manners, might supply abundant testimony. What conjugal love in that of Gilion de Trasignyes, where the messenger is afraid to announce abruptly to the wife the return of her husband from the holy land, "lest she should die through joy, as others have died."

It will not be wandering from our path if we select a narrative from an ancient history that may show in what manner these marriages, which were so productive of delicious peace, were originally contrived. Let us, then, hear a chronicle relative to Henry I., King of Germany. The duke Otho, deliberating with his wife, the venerable matron Hathawic, respecting the choice of a wife for their youngest son Henry, who was beloved by every one

* Lupi Epist. iii.

for his virtues, it was reported to them that in the convent of Herivord there was a maiden by name Matilda, noble, virtuous, and fair. She was descended from Witikind, and her parents were Count Thietric and Reinbilda, a Dane. This count's mother being the abbess at Herivord, had received the girl to be educated in sacred readings and manual work. Duke Otho therefore, having heard of her merit, sent his son Henry to the convent, along with Count Thietmar his master, in order that he should judge for himself. So he chose a number of handsome youths to accompany his son, in order that he might proceed more boldly. On approaching the convent they pitched tents in a field, while a few of them, as if for the sake of prayer, entered the church. There they saw the maiden, sitting within, holding a psalter in her hand, most decorously and reverently clad. Henry, greatly moved at the sight of so beautiful a person, forbade his companions to mention for what purpose they had come. Then returning to the tents where the other youths were waiting for them, Henry put on his princely attire, and so came back to the church with all his train. On asking permission to speak with the abbess, she came forth and received them all graciously. After the first salutations she led young Henry and the count into her chamber, and there conversed with them. The youth taking courage, began to inquire respecting the maiden's age, and lastly requested leave to see her; who, being called by the abbess, appeared before them with all her chaste virginal modesty, and a serene lovely countenance, in which were sweetly laid the colours of the lily and the rose. Without further delay the object of the visit was then declared; whereupon the abbess cast down her eyes and remained silent for a long time, as if in doubt. But when the youth persevered more and more in his petition, that venerable lady said, "It is not in our power to give her to any one without the counsel and permission of her parents, of whose intentions we are ignorant. This only we can say, that from our part, by the will of God, there shall be no obstacle to your nuptials; for we have long heard of the excellence of your house, and this visit confirms what we have heard." The consent was soon obtained, and Henry led her into Saxony to Walohusen, where the marriage was solemnized with great joy. Who can describe the peace, the purity, and the

Christian graces of this happy house. The history which records its virtue was written, by desire of the emperor St. Henry. "O blessed pair," exclaims the author, "who were united not alone in flesh, but in one mind and one spirit, prompt to every good work. The one love of Christ was in them the same love for their neighbour—the same compassion for their subjects. Persisting thus in great prosperity and peace, they desired by the inspiration of God Almighty to construct monasteries, thus diffusing peace around them. If she heard that any one was oppressed or imprisoned for crime, or by popular trial condemned to death, she had no cheerfulness until she had appeased the king's anger; and if she ever was dismissed unheard, the king on retiring would tremble at the words, 'With what judgment you judge, you shall be judged.' When on his death-bed at Memleben, he said to her, 'O faithful and beloved one, we thank Christ that you survive us. How often have you mitigated our anger, recalled us from iniquity to justice, and admonished us to show compassion on the oppressed!' When she saw that he was dead, she prostrated herself in prayer, and then rising up, asked if any one were still fasting who could say mass for the soul of her Lord. Adeldac, a priest, answered, 'Lady, we have not yet tasted any thing.' The venerable queen then took off two bracelets, which in general could never be removed without the aid of a smith; but on this occasion they seemed to yield to a touch; and giving them to him, she said, 'Take this gold and say mass of the dead.' As long as she lived afterwards she used to show great favour to this priest, never losing the remembrance that it was he who first sung mass for the soul of King Henry; and for the same reason she finally prevailed on her son, the emperor Otho I., to make him a bishop. In presence of the dead body she then exhorted her two sons, Otho and Henry, to union and peace, reminding them of what is said in the gospel respecting the exaltation of the humble and the humiliation of the proud. As a widow she was a model of all sanctity. At night, when all were asleep, she used to rise and enter the church; and before the cock crew she used to finish the whole psalter, if the nights were not short. No one ever saw her idle from good works. She was mild and pacific, quick to compassion, judging no one, condemning no one, rendering

to no one evil for evil, but enduring all things with untroubled love. She used to minister to the cock who announced day, to call up the faithful to serve Christ; nor did she forget the singing birds, for whom she used to scatter crumbs under the trees in the name of their Creator. She used to take always candles and food in her chariot, to distribute to oratories and to the poor; and in winter great fires used to be lighted and kept up all the night, both in houses and in the open air, that every wanderer might have warmth at need, and a light to direct his steps *."

Such details are seldom given by modern historians of the middle ages. A few satirical verses of licentious troubadours must set at rest, according to their report, the question respecting the peace of domestic life. Their pages are to record, not these sweet and lovely scenes within the paternal dwelling, but, as Homer says, "slaughter and blood, and the groans of men." Yet when such was the pacific order within innumerable families, we should be justified already in concluding that in those days flourished justice and abundance of peace. In fact the Church, in her office of the dead, seems to look back at this tranquillity of domestic life, as if dying men might grieve to leave it "*non aspiciam hominem ultra, et habitatorem quietis.*"

CHAPTER VI.

BUT not within the family alone was peace in these ages found. The whole community, more or less, felt the influence; for wherever the Catholic Church has children, there must be peace, since love is the spirit which distinguishes them: and therefore St. Thomas says that the mere view of the order of Christian states causes harmony and sweetness of mind †. "All who are made new in Christ," says St. Augustin, "sing what the

* Vita Mathildis Reginæ, ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvic. Illust. tom. i.

† De Reg. Princ. iv. 3.

psalmist terms a new song; and this is the song of peace, this is the song of charity. No one who separates himself from the alliance of the saints sings this new song: for he follows the old animosity, not the new charity, which is peace, the spiritual bond, the edifice of living stones. He bears the thorns of dissension, not the fruits of love: therefore his song is old: he has grown old amongst his enemies: he has not been renewed by grace*.” The virtues which are exclusively found in the garden of the Church, or which only as forced exotics can be seen elsewhere, are all the delicious graces which St. Paul terms the fruits of the Spirit, charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity, meekness, faith, modesty; opposed to enmities and contentions, emulations, angers, quarrels, dissentious sects, envyings, homicides: and if any one should think that this contradicts what we before advanced respecting the noble and magnanimous character of Catholic morality, let him be told that, according to the judgment of the middle ages, “the desire of human glory,” to use the words of St. Thomas, “takes away greatness of mind †;” that “meekness belongs to heroic virtue ‡;” and peace to youth, because the Catholic religion in some degree leads to a restoration of the state of innocence; and therefore the chronicles of St. Denis, alluding to St. Louis, say, “The king, because he was young and gentle, granted them peace and love §.”

Bede, when summing up the praises of St. Aidan, places in the van “studium pacis.” This pacific character is eminently remarkable in the care evinced by men in ages of faith to avoid litigation, to shun disputes of every kind, and to repress ambitious desires; and hence a peaceful tone pervaded Catholic society, which denoted the multitude of the sons of God on earth. Muratori remarks that the occasions for litigation in the middle ages were much fewer than in subsequent times. The poverty of those ages in respect to laws had at least this advantage, that disputes were settled in much shorter time, and with less difficulty. Then were there men instructed and skilled to decide between justice and injus-

* In Ps. cxlix. En.

† De Regim. Princip. l. 7.

‡ Cardan de Utilitate ex advers. cap. ii. c. 14.

§ Ad an. 1227.

tice, though they wanted the multiplex legal science of modern times *. Ambrosius Antpertus, the master and archchancellor, as some say, of Charlemagne, shows the injustice of having doubtful intricate laws, by which the poor may be at the mercy of those who administer law †. The evils which he exposes explain the ancient rituals, in which we find “*Missa contra judices male agentes* ‡,” and the law which required that a priest should stand on the judge’s right hand during the trial §. The chronicles of St. Denis, relating the death of Maurilien, bishop of Cahors, in 580, say that he passed to the joys of paradise; for, besides giving immense alms, he used to sustain and defend the poor of his church, and of his diocese, against the false judgments of felon judges ||. “In 802, the pious and merciful Emperor Charles,” says an ancient writer, “remembering the poor who were in his empire, and who could not have justice, was unwilling to send his vassals of the palace to administer it to the poor for gifts; but he chose archbishops and bishops, and abbots, with dukes and counts, who had no need to receive gifts from the innocent: and he sent them to administer justice to the Church, and to widows and orphans, and to the poor and to all the people ¶.” “Let the count of the palace know,” says the capitulary, “that he is appointed to administer justice to the poor and to the less powerful.” So ill seconded was he by his dukes, counts, and viscounts, that he was obliged to choose for his imperial commissioners almost exclusively bishops and abbots. He had so little confidence in laical magistrates, that he authorised in all cases an appeal from their tribunal to that of the bishop. Under Louis, his son, it was decreed that in the malls and placits first of all widows, orphans, and the poor should be heard; and if they should be unable to conduct their causes, that patrons should be given to assist them. The ancient parliaments were judicial; and a modern author, speaking of our own, says that nothing but a complete examination of the petitions presented to the king in parlia-

* *Antiq. It.* xxxi.

† *Lib. de Cupiditate*, ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* tom. ix.

‡ *Mur. Antiq. It.* liv. § Michelet, *Origines du Droit.*

|| *Liv. iii. c.* 12.

¶ *Annales veteres Francorum*, ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* v.

ment can convey any idea of the facility with which the humblest suitor obtained at least a hearing, or the promise of a remedy. "These legislators," he adds, "knew that the speedy redress of minor complaints was the great secret by which the tranquillity of the commonwealth is sustained *." Wise and careful provisions were made that judges and lawyers should be men fearing God, and that if any base persons should be detected in such offices they might be expelled from them †. "The profession of an advocate," says St. Thomas of Canterbury, "ought to be venerable and glorious. What he has received gratis he should impart gratis; advocating the cause of orphans and widows for the utility of the republic, and for the liberty of the Church, requiring nothing, receiving what is voluntarily offered, delivering the weak from the hand of the strong, and the poor man from those that would devour him. A moderate salary would profit him more than to receive the treasures of avarice; for a little is better to a just man than the wealth of sinners. If he expend freely and without remuneration the talent of science committed to him by God, the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that He cannot reward him according to or beyond his merits ‡." "Are you a lawyer," asks Ratherius of Verona, "and do you wish to be a Christian? Remember that your name is advocate, and be a faithful minister of so good a thing: for of our Lord it is said, that we have an advocate with the Father. Dissemble therefore that other name which denotes your relation to causes, for the sake of preserving love §." That these views of the profession were often realised is attested even by tombs, as by that of Guillaume de Charnac, in the convent of St. Victor at Paris, who died in 1348, and on which was read: "O quam sollicite quam sancte, quamque perite jus studuit!" At Rome there was an institution for the purpose of legally defending the rights of the poor. The pious Giron, who spent his life in defending the poor, may be considered its founder. Rome then beheld a society of men of the first talent, ready at a moment to succour the indigent, and to plead their cause without remuneration. Never-

* Palgrave.

† Murat. Antiq. It. x.

‡ S. Thom. Epist. xxvi.

§ Præloquiorum ap. Martene, Vet. Script.

theless, to litigation under these most favourable auspices the ancient Catholic society evinced a repugnance that at the present day seems hardly credible. The Church had a horror of prosecutions. Hence the canon of the synod of Eliberina says, "If any of the faithful should become an informer, and by his information any one should be proscribed or slain, be it decreed that he receive not the communion at his death." This was in consequence, no doubt, of a peculiar position: but still the pacific shrunk from such acts. They agreed ill with the love of their hearts. The fathers of the council of Mayence under Raban Maur decreed that all clerks and monks were to refrain from engaging in any litigation or dispute in secular courts, excepting in defence of orphans or widows*; and in the pastoral instructions of a bishop before the year 500, we read this sentence, "Let no one amongst you be litigious†." The general chapter of Citeaux, in 1188, prohibited the decretals of Gratian from being exposed in the common library, because it might be an occasion of fall to indiscreet spirits: and at the end of the next century Cardinal le Moine forbade the students of his college at Paris to frequent the schools of decretals. "What is this I pray?" asks St. Bernard. "From morning till evening to litigate or hear litigations? Day after day uttereth strifes; night after night indicates malice. It is of a stupid heart not to feel its own continual vexation. 'Vexatio dat intellectum auditui,' says some one. It is true‡." Peter of Blois writes to a clerk of the king of England, and thus dissuades him from studying law: "The wisdom from above we know is pacific. It asks the things which are of peace, and with those who hate peace teaches us to be pacific. But the science of the law is hardly ever pacific; because it is always litigating concerning contracts, or injuries, or causes, or actions, or obligations, judgments, sentences, or appeals, or other things which fan the ashes of litigation when they would otherwise have been extinguished. The science and eloquence of lawyers are all exercised on sins, and filled with quarrels. What spirit, I pray you, now dominates in the profession of law? The spirit of

* Heumann de Re Diplom. ii. 340.

† Commonit. cujusque Episc. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

‡ De Consideratione, lib. i. 3.

elation, of cupidity, of boasting, of error and giddiness, and of a pride languishing over questions and battles of words, leading men into the guilt of those who are double-tongued, seeking filthy lucre*.” “A certain lawyer,” says Cæsar of Heisterbach, “lately died in Saxony, and after death they could find no tongue in his mouth. Deservedly he lost it dying who had so often sold it while alive. When master Henry and Falco of Treves died, many noblemen of the country died about the same time ; and I remember a certain canon saying, ‘these nobles did well to take their lawyers with them ; for they will stand in great need of them†.’” This only expressed facetiously an opinion which is gravely announced in our time by a shrewd observer, who says that lawyers “are warm in tongue and cold in heart ; head-strong, punctilious, stringers of words together for ever, and enemies of logic, for logic goes straight to its end, and their business is not to arrive at it soon.” Now no disposition could be more foreign from the Catholic character than this ; so that where it was found, historians speak of it as a singularity. Thus Petrus Cynæus remarks that the Corsicans are so skilled in pleading, that when a cause of litigation comes on you would say they were all good lawyers : though he observes elsewhere, that when a controversy arises, even in time of war, they choose any good man for arbiter, and obey his sentence no less than if it were the verdict of a legal magistrate‡. The danger of being involved in litigation is adduced by St. Nilus as a reason for renouncing the world and flying to the desert. “One man,” he says, “removes the boundary of your vineyard to enlarge his own ; another sends his flock upon your lands ; another turns aside the water from your garden. He who resists such things must be constantly in the forum, and exchange the contemplation of eternal things for the cunning watchfulness of a negotiator§.” Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester, prefers even war to legal proceedings ; for, writing to the abbot and brethren of Aurillac, respecting his flight from Rheims, where his election to that see had excited enemies

* Epist. cxl. † Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. lib. xi. c. 46.

‡ De rebus Corsicis, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xxiv.

§ S. Nili Monach. De Philosophia Christiana, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.

against him, he says, "being unable to take revenge by force, they seek to do so by law, and the strife of arms is more tolerable than the discussion of laws. 'Estque tolerabilior armorum colluctatio quam legum disceptatio *.'" In fact the very suspension of law proceedings on all days consecrated by religion showed an analogy with the truce of God. "It is to be announced to the minister of the republic," says a capitulary, "that from the fourth feria before the beginning of Lent, till after the octave of Easter, and from the fourth feria before our Lord's nativity till after the consecrated days, and similarly on all other days of fasting, no one must presume to hold any mall or public placit, unless it be 'De concordia et pacificatione discordantium.' There must be no litigations or contentions, lest we should incur the censure of the Lord, 'Ecce ad lites et contentiones jejunatis †.'" One of the charges adduced against Louis le débonnaire, to warrant his deposition, was that he had held a general placit in holy week, when the paschal sacraments are celebrated by all Christians; in consequence of which he prevented the priests of the Lord from fulfilling their offices, and grievously oppressed the poor ‡.

"Let no priest ever excite any litigation against his neighbour," says a capitulary of Charlemagne, which was a lesson to all the pacific§. "Let no one," says a decree of the synod of Worms in 1700, "receive without deep examination the accusation in evidence of a man who frequently litigates, and who is quick to accuse ||." The Proverbs of Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the emperor Conrad, are full of denunciations against lawsuits. "Viri mites renuunt lites;" and again, "It is better to hear the poor than the sound of litigation ¶." At Nismes, on the tomb of Bernard de Trilia, the thirteenth provincial prior of the Dominicans, it was commemorated that he had never had a contention with any one:

"Constans ac humilis, cum nemine nulla sibi lis ***."

* Epist. 35.

† Capitula Rodulfi, c. 31. ap. Baluze, Miscell. ii.

‡ Ap. Duchesne, ann. Franc. ii. 331.

§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

|| Ap. id. vii.

¶ Ap. id. tom. ix.

*** Bern. Guidonis libell. de magist. ord. Prædic. ap. id. vi.

The avoidance of lawsuits was the motive assigned by Gregory X., writing to the King of Sicily, for studying law. "That knowledge," he says, "is given in order that litigious strife may be removed, and justice secured." From the same motive testaments were to be cautiously made. Ives de Nesle, Count of Soissons, preparing to join the crusade, wrote his will, which began thus: "It is a laudable foresight in a man to establish by testament what he wishes to bequeath to each, in order that after his death peace may be preserved between relatives *." Among the rules for the third order of St. Francis, which embraced so many persons living in the world, we read that they are to use every effort to avoid lawsuits, and that if prosecuted by others, they are to endeavour to terminate the strife by a compromise †. In short, not alone those who were in philosophy, as in Plato's time, but multitudes of the faithful engaged in the various active pursuits of the world, were so averse to such proceedings that, as he says, they did not even know the way either to the place of popular assembly or to the courts of law, or to any other common hall, and they neither saw nor heard any laws or written decrees ‡. What is even more surprising, some cities, like Genoa, for many ages had no hall for the administration of law §. Of the resolution, prevalent in ages of faith, to suffer loss rather than institute legal proceedings, we had occasion to speak on a former occasion, citing the example of king Robert, that pattern of meekness, in which the peace of God seemed visible. In the castle of Estampes, one of the many poor whom he fed at his table, while lying at his feet, cut from his knee a gold ornament and fled. The queen, on rising from table, broke forth into bitter complaints. "Who has dishonoured you?" "No one," replied the king; "doubtless this gold being more necessary to whoever took it than to me, by God's help will profit him." Another robber cutting off the fringe of his mantle, Robert said, "Go, content with what you have taken; some one else will want the rest." Peter the Venerable, writing to Odo, abbot of the greater monastery

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 14.

† La Règle du Tiers Ord.

‡ Theatætus.

§ Stellæ Annales Genuenses, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvii.

of Tours, expressed the general conviction : "This I say, that it is safer for every Christian, and especially for a monk, to possess somewhat less in peace than somewhat more with contention." In the next book we shall see how the monks acted in this respect : here we can only observe how this advice was followed by persons in the world. The letters of Philip, Count, and of Matilda, Countess of Boulogne, in 1228, are to this effect : "Whereas the Bishop of Meaux says that he has a right to be received into our castle of St. Martin whenever any contention arises between him and the Count of Champagne ; and whereas we are ignorant of that right : nevertheless, having held a council of good men, we grant for the good of peace, that as often as any contentions shall arise between the said Bishop and Count, if the Bishop should not dare to remain at Meaux, then whether we be in the kingdom of France or out of that kingdom, he may be received by us, or by whoever may be our heirs, into our fortress of St. Martin, and have twenty of his family, with their horses, in our town of St. Martin *." Thus he in fact yielded his right for the sake of peace. Nerius Capponi, the Florentine, used to make peace between citizens who were at law, exhorting secretly each side not to proceed further through avarice †. Claude le Pelletier, comptroller general and minister of state, after quitting the court in 1697, retired to his magnificent castle of Villeneuve le Roy, where he maintained a discipline almost monastic. Here was a good library and a gallery of paintings, with inscriptions upon every part of the walls, and even upon the seats in the park. In order to maintain peace in the families of his people, he made a juris-consult come from Paris, who was to refrain them from going to law with each other, and to bring to an end all differences ‡. The truth is, that from the manners of the first Christians must be traced this repugnance of the middle ages to law, and also this feeling of its inutility ; for even the heathens had remarked that if the judges were wise men, and the assembly honest, there would be but little scope for eloquence,

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1224.

† Nerii Capp. Vita ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xx.

‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, xii. 132.

or need of that art in contending, which consists in giving a contrary inflection to that which had been bent from the right line *. St. Chrysostom had thus spoken. “It is best to prevent private litigation by benign compromise, that you may direct a friend to that which litigation proposes to effect: but as for accusations before the public judges, I do not say abandon them for a compromise, but never begin them.” The clergy in their pastoral capacity prevented much litigation. Thus Bourdoise is described as reconciling enemies and terminating lawsuits †. Among the instructions to visitors proposed by the council of Rheims in 1408, we read that on coming to each parish, they are to enquire whether there are any mortal enmities between persons belonging to it, whether there are any lawsuits pending, and if so, whether the parties can summarily be brought to concord ‡. Bishops generally were chosen as arbiters. Thus we read that St. Hugues, Bishop of Grenoble, acting in that capacity, used to terminate quarrels and appease enmities by the charm of his evangelical language. The church, however, not content with individual exertions, had organized in most places, as in the archbishopric of Arles, an ecclesiastical office, or court of arbiters, for the purpose of pacifying disputes and preventing lawsuits §; whose decisions generally began like that of Arnold, Archbishop of Cologne, in 1140, “because it is written *Beati pacifici* ||.” Besides which there were councils of *Prud’hommes*, who arbitrated in innumerable cases, and arranged them amicably, to whom were given most wise and just rules in the time of St. Louis. Thus in 1364 Louis de Châtillon regulated a great difference with the abbey of St. Crépin at Soissons, respecting seigneurial rights; and this he did amicably, instead of going to law, which would have caused, he said, much pain to the monks ¶. In 1350, the chapter of Soissons chose for arbiter of their differences, the Bishop William Bertrand, though he was one

* Quinct. ii. 17.

† Vie de Bourd. liv. ii. 159.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

§ Gilles du Port, Hist. de l’Eglise d’Arles.

|| Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 114.

¶ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 225.

of the interested parties in the cause. He then called before him twenty citizens, and gave sentence according to their testimony on oath *." Similarly a man named Notger having a dispute concerning a piece of ground with Grimald, Abbot of St. Gall, they arranged it amicably. Their chart begins thus: "For the love of Almighty God, it must be an object of great study to every one to provide for and consolidate every where peace and concord, that quarrels and discords may be avoided and abolished." Innumerable other cases occur of the same kind, as may be witnessed in the ancient formulas *De Transactionibus et Pactionibus* †: and in the great collection by Martene, there are a multitude of cases of arbitration by the *Prud'hommes* in the thirteenth century, as that between the Seigneur William de Calviniaco and the burghers of château Rodulph, in 1229, and that between the King St. Louis, and those of Rupelle in 1231 ‡. The terms of the document attesting the pacification of disputes by the ecclesiastical mediation are remarkable. Thus we read, "I Henry, by the grace of God, Bishop of Liege, mindful, nay solicitous, of our Lord's example, who coming into the world brought peace to men of good will, and who departing from it, left peace to his disciples, make known to all present and future, how the contention is terminated between the church of St. Peter at Liege, and the monastery of St. Hubert §." Again in 1090, we read, "Be it known to all the faithful in Christ, how I, Hermann III. though a sinner, Archbishop of Cologne, desiring with desire, as far as is possible to human fragility, to eradicate from the whole extent of our see, the litigations of controversies, have decreed to put an end to the hateful discord which has so long abominably existed between the canons of St. Mary and the monks of Brunwylre ||." Again in 1100, "As the state of the whole church is consolidated by the pacific bonds of charity, and as the unity of holy society is dissipated by the pestiferous scandal of dissensions, whoever wishes to come to the visions of eternal peace, must of necessity study with all diligence to keep peace, if possible, with all men, and especially with

* Id. † Ap. Goldast. *Alemannicar. Antiquitatum*, ii. p. 1.

‡ Vet. Script. i. § Ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* i. || Id.

brethren: therefore we the canons of the church of Mans, loving peace and concord, and desiring to take away from the midst of us the evil of discord, have put an end in this manner to the dispute which has existed between us and the monks of St. Vincent *.” When a reconciliation was effected at Rome between Henry, Archbishop elect of Treves, Theoderic, Abbot of St. Matthew in that city, and Alexander, a monk of that monastery, the document which they signed attesting it, began thus, “The pacific hearts of those persons, enlightened by truth, and by the doctrine of Christ, teaching peace to men, though sometimes liable to be torn by the enemy of the human race sowing the seeds of hatred, yet, in process of time, are sure to expel the darkness of that chief malignity, and to recover peace which puts an end to all strife.” These men, on their return to Germany, were ever after much greater friends than they had been before enemies †.

No less remarkable are the bulls of popes confirming these decisions; that of Innocent IV. in 1245, confirming the arbitrement of a certain bishop, begins thus, “From a storm, the sailor endeavours to guide his ship into port as soon as possible, lest it should be left tempest-tost to the collision of the waves; so does a right judge endeavour to conduct a cause from the angry flood of litigation into the port of amicable adjustment, lest under the continual uproar of judicial proceedings by the confusion of trials, it should be inextricably involved; for it is an injury to men when any delay occurs in the decisions of controversies †.” To the same effect writes Innocent III. “We have decreed, for the sake of peace, to put an end to this strife by composition, rather than decide it by a judicial sentence.” Adrian IV. speaks thus to Henry, Bishop of Beauvais, “a controversy having arisen between you and the religious brethren of St. Lucian, they have decreed rather to submit to your will than to dispute judicially with your nobility, hoping that this humility will be more useful than any litigious disputations; therefore by apostolic letter we admonish

* Ap. id. i. 579.

† Gesta Træverens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

‡ Ap. id. i. p. 1183.

your charity, and exhort you in the Lord, so to conduct yourself towards them in this affair of the tenths and fishing-rights, that you may seem to love and cherish the religious brethren for the love of Christ *.” Alexander III. writes to Henry, Archbishop of Rheims, saying “ that he should restrain Guido, Bishop of Chalons, from receiving a cause against a widow, which had been decided, thereby unjustly and against reason, fatiguing her by expensive litigation ; you must therefore admonish and compel him to cease from molesting her †.” The litigations of kings and great men were often not otherwise settled. Pope Eugene III. writes to Hugo, Bishop of Auxerre, and to Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, in these terms : “ Hearing that some degree of rancour has arisen between Louis, King of the Franks, and Henry, Bishop of Beauvais, we were filled with vehement grief. In order to eradicate from their hearts every root of bitterness, we wish, as we cannot attend to it ourselves, that your charity would undertake it. Therefore we beseech you to repair to the king’s presence, and having summoned to it our brother, the bishop, that you would examine the cause of complaint between them accurately—*absque strepitu*, and having removed all ground of offence, that you would reconcile them to each other in concord and fraternal charity, so that the royal dignity may be preserved in all its integrity, and the episcopal honour not injured, and that fraternal charity between them may be re-established with perpetual love ‡.”

In short, one has only to open the letters of any of the Roman pontiffs to different bishops, to see proof how well men in the middle ages attended to the counsel of St. Paul, to bring their difference before the saints. “ The wisdom of the apostolic see,” says Innocent VI. alluding to certain statutes of Benedict XII. “ diligently providing for quiet and peace, willingly explains and elucidates whatever things may seem dubious, lest they should give rise to litigation and strife §.” Innumerable cases of property and inheritance were thus submitted to Alexander III. to all of which he lent a patient ear ; replying on some occasions, as he says himself, the

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 651.

† Ap. id. ii. 869.

‡ Ap. id. ii. 633.

§ Ap. Baluze, Miscell. iv.

more speedily on account of the poverty of the plaintiff*. “It is our office,” he says, “to make peace between the discordant, and to procure justice for every one †.” The desire of all parties which led to such arrangements, was eminently pacific. They deprecated the noise of legal discussion: so we read in the old chronicle of Parma, “those on both sides promised to satisfy each other, *sine strepitu judicis* ‡.” On the termination of differences by what was termed the “judgments of God,” Muratori treats at length §. The purgation by oath was always sanctioned and approved by the Church, as was also purgation by the Eucharist, of which so memorable an example was seen when Adrian II. received it in 869 from King Lothaire and his nobles, who were so soon after struck, as it was believed, by divine vengeance. With respect to the other modes of discovering hidden truth that came under this class, pious but rash, the church did not invent them, and the Roman pontiffs always reprobated them. They were called vulgar because invented by the people. Such was the judgment of cold water, the rite of which is given in an antiphonarium of the year 1150, in the library of the chapter of Milan: in another, the names of Leo III., Charlemagne, and blessed Eugene, are erroneously proposed as an authority. It is an error, however, to suppose that death was to ensue to the party by this judgment. That of hot water required that the hand only should be immersed. The judgment of the cross was by the two parties standing before the altar with arms extended in form of a cross, while the passion was read from St. Matthew; and whoever held them longest without trembling was deemed innocent. A modern historian remarks the grandeur of the idea that the guilty man would be the first to tremble, and hence observes that these judgments are, after all, one of the glories of the middle ages. “They show,” he adds, “what was deemed the force of conscience and of remorse, a power which it must be admitted can no longer be found.” The fact too was, he believes, that subsequent examina-

* Ap. id. ii. 693.

† Ap. id. ii. 699.

‡ Chronic. Parm. ap. Muratori Rer. It. Script. ix.

§ Dissert. xxxviii.

tion generally proved the justice of the decision. No trace of the judgment of passing through fire is found in the west, before the year 1000; but in the east it had been used in the Arian controversy. At length, by the efforts of the holy see these judgments were wholly abolished. The judgment of the cross was the first to be suppressed, because the people were told by Louis le débonnaire that it was irreverent to our Lord's passion: for he prohibited it, "*ne Christi passio, quæ glorificata est, cujuslibet temeritate contemtui habeatur* *." The judgment at open variance with peace by single combat, is traced from the Pagans. Livy relates instances of its use in Spain, but the Longobards were the first to adopt it in Christendom; and Gundobadus, King of the Burgundians, an Arian heretic, was the first to make it legal, in which he was opposed by St. Avitus, who exclaimed against such a barbarous and impious custom. The Goths were averse to it, as were also for a long time the Visigoths in Spain. Luitprand, King of the Longobards, declared that he acted only through necessity when he permitted it. Being unable to extirpate the custom, Louis le débonnaire on one occasion recorded, at first refused, but afterwards, through the same necessity, granted permission for a combat: but before the duel, he used all his efforts to reconcile the parties, and promised to pardon the guilty on his avowal. However the cases were but very few in which the ancient laws permitted such combats to take place. Continually did holy men inveigh against the usage†. Agobard wrote to Louis le débonnaire, to persuade him to abolish the Burgundian law. "How is this?" he says, "that the testimony of a Christian, of a dear brother in Christ, cannot be received in courts on account of the law of a certain Gundobad, who was an heretic and enemy of the Catholic faith? Hence it happens, that not alone the strong, but even the weak and aged are challenged to combat, and that for the vilest things, whence follow execrable battles, unjust homicides, cruel and perverse judgments, not without loss of faith, hope, and piety, while they think God is present. This is a wicked error and a confused order, that for such perversities the Scrip-

* Antiq. It. xxxviii.

† Antiq. It. xxxix.

tures of truth should be despised, and Christian peace destroyed, and such an unworthy notion of the good God conceived, as if he could favour the rapacious and oppose the miserable. The doctrine of Christ is that we should give up our cloak and suffer fraud, rather than contend; but these men say, fight and you are sure of victory. Then the two parties go forth audaciously to fight for things which they ought to love much less than each other. When was the truth of religion determined by such combats! The truth was on the side of those who were slain. If in this life the innocent were always conquerors, Pharaoh would not have killed Josiah, but Josiah would have killed Pharaoh. Herod would not have killed John, but John would have killed Herod. Nor would that holy city Jerusalem, in times of grace, filled with innumerable multitudes of monks and clerks, and other faithful, have been subdued by the Saracens. Nor would Rome have been conquered by Goths, Pagans, and heretics. We do not say this as denying that the providence of God sometimes absolves the innocent and punishes the wicked, but as showing that God has nowhere ordained that this should be so, excepting in the last judgment, and moreover, on the ground that such combats are contrary to Christian simplicity and piety, and to the evangelical doctrine, and that it should be far from a Christian mind to seek to escape the adversities of this world by conflicts, and to gain its joys by battles; since on the contrary, in the celebration of mass, we frequently beseech God to grant us for his love to despise the prosperous things of this world, and to fear not its adversities. The Christian mind must be fixed on future, not on present things, for events in the present life are subject to a hidden dispensation, as the Holy Scripture testifies: the faithful mind must not suppose that Almighty God wishes to reveal the secret things of men by hot water, or hot iron, much less by cruel battles: it is allowed, indeed, to judge between brethren that contentions may be appeased, but the utility of judges consists in the discussion of causes, and in the subtlety of investigations, as when Solomon decided between the two women; but when this law of the heretical Gundobad prevails, it is not allowed to finish causes by legal discussion, or the testimony of witnesses, but the judges

must decide by battle, which no sacred authority, no reason sanctions *." Again, elsewhere he says, "woe to Babylon, that great city, for the day and hour of its judgment cometh. But if the judgment of Babylon be thus a thing to come at some future day, why do its citizens suppose that God judges so frequently? This sentence proves that his judgments are hidden and impenetrable: therefore we conclude that it is a foolish and proud presumption to suppose that the divine judgments can be clearly manifested by battles †." Such were the pacific grounds on which the judicial combat continued to be condemned in all subsequent works, till its abolition, as may be seen in *L'Arbre des Batailles* and many others.

But it was not alone to litigation that the men of the middle ages were averse; to disputation in any form that was not the result of charity, they evinced an insurmountable repugnance; and this was another cause why society amidst all its disorders, ever retained an eminently pacific tone. In the first place their religion forbade them to be disputable. "*Noli contendere verbis*," said the unerring text, adding "*ad nihil enim utile est*," which has been verified in all ages, as when the Bonzes of Japan approved, and the multitude seemed to decide in favour of the disputations in public of St. Francis Xavier, which nevertheless led to no conversions. Petrarch cites the saying of Varro, "*nimum altercando veritas amittitur ‡*," which agreed well with the views of men whose lives were to show forth the rule "*non in contentione et emulatione*." "While there is battle in words," says St. Hilary, of Poitiers, "while there is question of novelties, while there is occasion from ambiguities, while there is quarrel concerning authors, while there is contest in studies, while there is difficulty in consent, while each one begins to be odious to the other, no one is near to Christ, for this is to wander before the uncertain winds of doctrines, to be filled with perturbations while we teach, or with errors while we are taught §." "I wonder," says St. Bernard, "how your religious ears can endure to hear these disputations and battles of words, which profit

* *Ad Ludovic. Imp. Epist.*

† *Id. de Pace.*

‡ *Epist. i. 6.*

§ *Lib. ii. ad Constantium, 5.*

more to the subversion than to the discovery of truth *.” But you shine in an argument: you cause truth to triumph? “It is better to burn than to shine,” replies Peter of Blois, “Lucifer shone and fell; Seraphim burned and stood; because charity never faileth †.” Moreover “I wish,” he says, “that no man who has not an exercised understanding, would ever dispute with a heretic or a Jew. Justinian, the most Christian Emperor, decreed by general sanction that no man should dispute on the Trinity or the Catholic faith ‡.” It is rash to speak on things ineffable, to think on things that surpass thought §. “On such matters,” says Fulbert of Chartres, “I would rather be silent than define any thing unworthily by a rash disputation; for the heavenly attitude of the mystery cannot clearly be exposed by a corruptible tongue ||.” “Let all enquiry on such matters cease,” says Peter of Blois; “close the well lest the ox or the ass should fall into it ¶.” Disputation was not needed by men whose minds were secure in the confidence of possessing truth, and who enjoyed that peace of intelligence to which the prophet alludes when saying, “sedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis, in tabernaculis fiduciæ, in requie opulentia.” In Greece, we are told that philosophy would have never been in such honour, if it had not flourished by means of the contentions and dissensions of learned men **. So it is according to St. Athanasius, with the wisdom of the heretics, “who are,” he says, “lovers of eternal disputations ††.” “Of each of whom,” as Cicero says of Epicurus, “it is characteristic that he should audaciously defend his decrees, as of so noble a lover of wisdom ‡‡:” but so far were Catholics from cherishing this kind of spirit, that they believed it their highest privilege to be delivered from the strife of tongues. “Amidst such contradictions of philosophers,” says Wibald, Abbot of Corby, “whom should we have followed, if He had not come who saith ‘Ego sum via, veritas, et vita?’ Now a rustic and illi-

* De Consideratione, i. 10.

† Id. contra Perfidiam Judæor.

‡ Epist. i.

**. Cicero, Tuscul. ii. 2.

†† De Finibus, ii.

† Serm. xxxix.

§ Id. Sermo xxvi.

¶ Epist. cxli.

†† Cont. Arian. ii. 7.

terate man can acutely discover and profoundly judge, and copiously develope truth. As for these sophistical disputes, they should be left to amuse those who argue thus. Mouse is a syllable, but a syllable does not eat cheese : therefore a mouse does not eat cheese. Let us study rather what belongs to justice and piety, to frugality and modesty, following our great contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux, whose eloquent voice can awaken sleepers, or to say more truly, the dead *.” On all occasions they deprecate contention. “ Saving the Catholic faith,” says Ratherius of Verona, in his book of instructions, “ our office in general is to avoid the ditch. ‘ *Malimus alienis sermonibus humiliter cedere quam pertinaciter contentionibus deservire* †.’ ” “ I cut short this discourse,” says St. Bernard, “ because a few words in peace are more useful than many with scandal. I wish I may have written these few things without giving scandal †.” Peter of Blois thinks it would be better to keep within his breast the little book on Christian friendship which he has composed, and in order to prevent the discussion of critics, to say of it, “ *secretum meum mihi, secretum meum mihi* §.” It was sufficient for Catholics to know with St. Augustin, that against reason no one sober, against the Scriptures no Christian, and against the church no one who is pacific, ever holds an opinion. “ It is needless,” says Peter of Blois, “ to protract discussion. You have Moses and the Prophets ; you have doctors and pastors sent to the ministry of the faith. Who hears these, hears Christ. You have an abbreviated word, if gracious brevity delight you, have charity, and do what you will ||.” “ Ask,” he says, “ for understanding with David, according to the word of God, not beyond or short of, or contrary, but according to it, which alone brings peace.” Pray that his good Spirit may sound within your heart without sound, and without the noise of words, that it may speak all truth. By following these precepts men were soon led to feel, with St. Bernard, that it was “ the highest kind of victory

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii.

† Præloquiorum lib. iv. ap. Martene, Vet. Script.

‡ Apolog. ad Guillel. 13.

§ De Amicitia Christ. Prolog.

|| Serm. lxxv.

to yield to the Divine Majesty, and that not to resist the authority of the Church was the highest honour and glory *.”

The pacific tone of the scholastic debates has struck the attention of some modern authors. Grotius praises the modesty of the schoolmen in contending with reasons, and not with reproaches and the disgusting scurrility of an impotent mind, according to the custom of his own age †. In fact, wholly unknown to the ages of faith were the literary quarrels which disgraced the fifteenth century, when Filelfo, Niccoli, Poggio, Guarino, and Valla displayed their heathen erudition in furious and ignoble discussions. No less foreign to them were the angry polemics which heresy has brought into vogue. St. Thomas of Aquin, in his disputations, always proposed his opinion with meekness and sweetness, with an unspeakable moderation, without any show of presumption, and without the least offence to any one ; but carried himself as a man who regarded, not gaining the victory, but merely endeavoured to make known the truth. In what a spirit of peace did the general assembly of the clergy of France, in 1680, endeavour to recal the Protestant ministers ‡ ! The voice of the Holy See was always rather that of entreaty and admonition than of command. It is curious to trace the connection between this style and that Catholicity of mind which makes the humble men who speak victories, for those who showed a disputation to cavil at the supreme authority have in all ages been remarkable for the violence of their tone. Agobard, for instance, is severe and harsh in his criticism, and deprived of all patience on account of some most innocent lines in the *Antiphonarium* of Lyons § : and, clearly, the violence of the illustrious men, Gerson and Paschal, was not unconnected with their frequent cavils at the Holy See. Men who do not go the whole way, unreservedly, with truth find themselves on a declivity ; and to the point where they stop they feel obliged to cling with nails and feet, and to push with vehemence against all who would

* St. Bernard, *Epist.* clxxxv.

† *De Jure Belli, &c. Prolegom.*

‡ *Procès Verbal.* Monteil. *Hist. des Français*, viii. 228.

§ *Opera*, 391.

make them descend still lower. We hear of the disputes of the schoolmen; and it is true they disputed, for, as St. Augustin says, “there are points on which the learned and the best defenders of Catholic rule may differ from each other without compromise of faith*.” “As sons of peace, they could by no reason be induced to desert unity; but that would not have been sufficient,” as St. Bernard says, “unless they had defended it with all their strength†.” As Dionysius the Carthusian says, “nothing is so necessary to the servants of God as to love and keep the peace of the Church, and to endeavour to recal to its unity all who dissent from it‡.” But their disputations were holy, and pacific, and calm as the eternal reason. The school was not that stormy scene of discord and trouble described by Plato, where, as he says, many wings of souls are broken, Πολλὰ δὲ πτερὰ θραύονται §. The maxim there followed was that of St. Augustin and St. Thomas, “Diligite homines, interficite errores.” It was proved possible there to know something without noisy altercations. Not clamour, but meditation, made its disciples learned; and truth, in silence, had charms enough for them. A certain Christian dignity reigned there. There were no disputes with these strange logicians, who lay down a principle and shrink from its consequences; light minds, which fly after an image, and which turn round themselves like the leaf at the mercy of every wind. Trusting in God, men understood truth, and, being faithful, they acquiesced in his love. And after all, what were their disputes? John Picus of Mirandula says that there are many places in which the Scotists and Thomists are thought to differ from each other, where, on the contrary, he maintains that they are agreed ||. The fact is, that the agreements of the holy fathers and the schoolmen, through the long series of Christian ages, constitutes one of the most striking miraculous proofs of the divinity of our religion. What an astonishing conformity exists between them all! Open the works of St. Augustin and of St. Thomas. What do you find in the one which is not in the other? The same truths,

* Lib. i. c. 2. cont. Julian.

† St. Bern. Epist. cxxv.

‡ De Pace interna.

§ Phædrus.

|| Joan. Pic. Mir. Apolog.

the same proofs, same objections, same answers, same consequences, drawn from the same principles; equally zealous for the glory of God, and for the sacred deposit of sound doctrine, they always appear animated by the same spirit, enlightened and sustained by the same grace*. Nor was it alone from the school that the contentious spirit was banished. In social intercourse it was, comparatively with earlier and later times, unknown. We read, indeed, of a young physician of Cyprus being very familiar with Charles V. of France, because he could speak good Latin, and was very argumentative; but the latter qualification was certainly not much in request. The pertness of an Anaxagoras, who said that snow is black, and the mania for argumentation, which impelled the ancient critics to dispute about the quantity of a letter in the word *quiesco* †, indicated a temper very different from that of the lovers of peace, as we find it expressed in the monuments of the middle ages. Manners, as we before remarked, were then characterized by that sweet gaiety and serenity which the least warmth of discussion would wound. According to what is related of the Abbé Barthélemy, men had even the air of reminding others of that which they taught them, instead of resembling those who ask questions, as if for the pleasure of contradicting those who answer them.

Innumerable persons in the world, from being associated in the third order of St. Francis, were guided in conversation by the rule of the Minors, “*In via sive in domibus non litigent neque contendant verbis, seu alio quovis modo.*” The great and learned Jannotius Manetti of Florence, who used to begin every day before light by hearing mass in the Church of the Holy Spirit, when a young man used frequently to dispute among the learned who frequented the booksellers’ stalls, or in the public square of Florence. He spoke Latin as if it were his mother-tongue. One day he had a long and sharp discussion on philosophy with Leonardus Aretinus, secretary of the Florentine people, in which he spoke with such force and applause that Leonardus felt wounded, and proceeded to use language towards him of great severity, but Jannotius replied so benignly that the other became

* Touron Vie de St. Thom. 405.

† Aul. Gel. vi. 15.

ashamed of his own rudeness. After the discussion, when the crowd had dispersed, Leonardus continued to reflect on what he had said to Jannotius. On the next morning, laying aside respect for his own dignity, he went to visit him. When Jannotius saw him coming to his house he was astonished that a man of such authority and fame should visit him so much his junior, who ought, on the contrary, to repair to his house: but Leonardus, without replying, desired that he would walk aside with him, as he wished to speak with him in private. So they walked together to the banks of the Arno, and then Leonardus, stopping and turning to him, said, "Yesterday evening I spoke to you with violence and disdain; but I have been punished for it, having passed the whole night without sleep in consequence, and I could not rest till I besought you to forgive me." Jannotius then declared that there was no cause. "I received your words," he said, "without being disturbed, as coming from one whom I loved and venerated. The concern I feel is on seeing you forget your dignity to come to the house of a private man, which, before this day, you have never been seen to do *."

In general the men of the middle ages were not afflicted with what the ancients termed the disease of speaking; which rendered persons not indeed eloquent, but, as Epicharmes said, incapable of silence. Trithemius deemed it useful to write a book entitled, *γλωττευφορίαν*, that is, teaching fertility of tongue†; a trouble which, if he had written in our times, he might have spared himself. "The noisiest streams are the shallowest," says Hare, alluding to intelligences. Abstinence from words as well as from flesh was even recommended by the Church during her penitential seasons, as in the matin-hymn for the first Sunday of Lent:

"Utamur ego parcius
Verbis, cibis, et potibus."

And generally, with men of the ancient discipline, the tone of conversation would be enough to make the

* Naldo Naldi vit. Jannottii Manetti, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xx.

† Trithemii Nepiachus ap. Eccardii Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi, tom. ii.

moderns suppose that the hour was always day's decline; for travellers remark that about sunset talkative men the most fond of disputation, become no longer offensive, and even almost lapse into silence. Of a truth the pacific faithful seem like weary men when confronted with the eternal revivers of often-refuted errors; and hence, perhaps, the remark of a learned Frenchman, that the Catholics had a good cause and defended it ill, whereas the heretics had a bad cause and defended it well. The former knew the inutility of such means of defending truth, and the certain injury which would result from them to peace.

The repression of ambitious desires has been presented so frequently in the course of this history, that we cannot be expected to cite further evidence on that head, though it is essential to bear in mind the consequences which must have resulted from it to society, whenever we meditate on the peace which reigned in ages of faith. Here the moderns themselves raise their hands in admiration of the spirit of Catholic times. "We merit pity at the present day," says one of them. "The human condition, it is true, was never more equal, but the desires of man have advanced far beyond his progress. Never was ambition more impatient and more prevalent. Never were so many hearts a prey to such a thirst for all good and all pleasures; proud pleasures and gross pleasures; thirst of material prosperity, and of intellectual variety; every thing appears possible, and enviable, and attainable, to all. The world has never seen such a conflict of phantasies, of pretensions, of exigencies; has never heard such a sound of voices rising together to claim as their right what they desire; and it is not towards God that these voices rise. Ambition is at the same time extended and lowered. The popular instructors of our age are not the religious preceptors that formerly taught the people. And can we wonder at the deep agitation and at the immense disgust which disturb nations and individuals, states and souls? As for me, I wonder that the disgust is not greater, the agitation more violent, the explosion more sudden*." Thoughtful men may well be struck at the contrast presented by the society around them to that of all European states in ages of faith. Thanks to the holy offices of the Church, by constant assistance at

* Guizot.

her sacred mysteries, men had then generally received, according to her prayers, that ineffable gift by means of which, mitigating earthly desires, they learned to love celestial things*. They had remarked with St. Chrysostom, that the importance attached by our Lord to humility and to baptism was the same; and that he expressed it by the same words. With hearts inclined to the divine testimonies, and not to avarice, one main root of dissension was cut off. Men acted from the conviction of what Alcuin quaintly expressed in writing to the monks of St. Vedas: that it was better to have God in their hearts than money in their purses†. What the ancient philosopher vainly sought for was then realized. “*Invenitur quid sit quod natura spectet extremum in bonis, quod in malis ultimum; quo referenda sint officia, quæ degendæ ætatis ratio deligenda*‡.” Hence that scientific appreciation of the folly of ambition and of the glory which men can bestow. “*Sufficiebat mihi paupertas mea*,” says Peter of Blois; “*sufficiebat mihi præesse tantum corpori meo, ut non regnaret in me peccatum*§.” Ambition, that mother of hypocrisy, which plays such an immense part later, was unmasked. Not for an instant could it impose on the penetrating mind of the humble sons of peace, who with a glance detected its stupidity. “So unless you be a legate, Rome cannot have a pope!” was all the reply that Gerard of Angouleme could draw from St. Bernard||. “If a bishop should say, ‘I do not wish to be under an archbishop,’ or an abbot, ‘I do not wish to obey a bishop:’ this,” said he, “is not from heaven, unless you should have heard an angel saying, ‘I do not wish to be under archangels’¶.” How impressive were the contrary examples which abound in old history! In 1151, on the death of the Abbot Meinher, of Monte Sereno, Arnold was elected to succeed him, a man every way fit, and who gave great hopes of future utility; but the marquis Conrad, the great benefactor of that house, wished the election to fall on Eckehard, who was also a man of laudable fame; for with ardour desiring the spiritual welfare of Monte Sereno, he thought it most important to choose a man from the church of Hall, where

* Secret for third Sunday after Easter.

† Alcuini Op. i. 49.

‡ Tusc. v.

§ Epist. cii.

|| S. Bern. Epist. cxxvi.

¶ De Considerat. iii. 4.

holy discipline flourished. Arnold learning his intentions, and considering that more injury would accrue to the monastery from offending the marquis than utility from himself, though exhorted by the brethren who had chosen him to persevere, after some deliberation, presenting himself as abbot elect before the Archbishop of Magdeburg according to custom, he declared, in presence of the marquis, who was at his side, that he felt himself incompetent, and that therefore he relinquished the appointment. Thus Eckehard was elected and confirmed; but the said Arnold afterwards presiding over Luppoldisberge, governed that house strenuously, and to the great increase of religion *. Charlemagne, moved by the piety of fallen majesty in Desiderius, entered his prison, fell at his feet, begging forgiveness, and even asked him to take part in the administration; but that king replied, "Was it, then, without the nod of Almighty God, who transfers and changes empires, that our kingdom was transferred to you? Rule the empire committed to you, then, prudently: govern the people in peace; and for me it is sufficient to serve henceforth the Supernal King †." How admirable, again, was the scene at Mayence on the election of Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, to the imperial crown, when what the old writers term "the holy humility of illiterate laics gave so fine a lesson to ecclesiastics to desire not the honours of this world ‡!" The same spirit descended through all ranks, so that at Modena, in 1307, after electing several men to the supreme authority under the title of captain, every one declined it, in consequence of which Modena remained that year without any chief to preside §. Ambitious joys found hearts too much otherwise occupied to admit them; for the desire of St. Columban was often realized. His advice was this:

"Sint tibi divitiæ divinæ dogmata legis
Omnia quæ dociles scripserunt ante magistri,
Vel quæ doctiloqui cecinerunt carmina vates;
Has cape divitias: semper contemne caducas ||."

* Chronic. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.

† Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, iv. 95, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiv.

‡ Narrat. de Electione Loth. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

§ Annal. Veteres Mutinensium, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

|| S. Columb. Epist. in qua detestatur avaritiam, ap. Canis. Lect. Ant. i.

It was in these ages, we must remember, that such multitudes were devoted to the innocent and holy occupations of the peaceful muse; τῆς ἀπολέμου Μούσης, as Plato terms it, honouring God and the friends of God with choral songs. It was then that thrice each day every tongue repeated an angel's words; it was then that every one, from the rustic to the king, was taught and conjured to imitate the good, to tolerate the evil, and to love all*. Behold the children of the Church flourished thus as the peaceful lily before God; and if there was any interruption to their tranquillity, it only arose from the fact that all were not found faithful. For, as Theodorus says, after hearing Socrates discourse divinely on the true life of happy men, certainly if the Church could persuade all men of what she said, as she convinced her own disciples, there would be more peace and fewer evils among men than at present†. We have before seen what a new character both cities and the scenes of rural life assumed in ages of faith. The angel of the school shows that a wise government ought not to favour the inordinate growth of cities, because he says a state is more pacific of which the people are less congregated within walls, as the close assemblage of multitudes gives occasion to strife and sedition, and therefore there should be limits to the commercial spirit‡. The Catholic religion, however, as we have seen, was prolific in the foundation of cities; but what we have here to remark is the pacific character which belonged to them. St. Thomas desires that the tranquillity arising from the aspect of the country should not be excluded from them. Therefore, in the choice of a site, he says that beauty and delectation must be consulted. "There ought to be," he says, "if possible, groves and streams, and a near view of mountains to refresh the sight§." In a former book we remarked, on visiting a city of the middle ages, how peaceful were the impressions. Perhaps I was then deemed fanciful; yet hear how those observations are confirmed by the testimony of a modern traveller, who thus describes an evening in Antwerp: "Not a sound disturbed my meditations. Now and then, indeed, one or two women in long cloaks or mantles glided by at a distance; but their dress was so shroud-like, and their whole appearance so ghastly, that

* S. August. de Catechis. rudibus.

† De Regim. Princip. ii. 3.

‡ Theætetus.

§ Id. ii. 4.

I should have been afraid to accost them. No village amongst the Alps, or hermitage upon Mount Lebanon, is less disturbed. You may pass your days in this great city without being the least conscious of its sixty thousand inhabitants, unless you visit the churches. There, indeed, are to be heard devout whispers; and sometimes, to be sure, the ponderous bells strike, and such a peal of chimes succeed as shake the whole edifice: but walk about, as I do, in the twilights of summer, and be assured your ears will be free from all molestation. You can have no idea how delighted I was with this contrast to the tumult and uproar of London." Another describes the peaceful silence of Bruges, and of his having only heard in the streets a harp from a high casement accompanying a voice of thrilling power—a measure fitting sooth for some gay throng, though it fell from a grim turret. The author of the rhythmic description of Verona, written in the eighth century, after giving a view of its former state, its forum, and its citadel, adds: "Behold the city of evil men, who knew not the law of God; but when Christ had come and suffered, and the Gentiles hastened to believe, then happy Verona was protected by most holy guardians, who defended it from the worst enemy; and then followed in long order those pontiffs, martyrs, and confessors, with whose holy bodies it is so gloriously enriched *." Michael Savonarola, describing Padua in 1440, says that by the visible things which it contains the mind may be inflamed to a love of things invisible. Of the churches he speaks, first to show that eternal are to be preferred to temporal things; and he observes that the numerous porticoes in the city dispose minds for peaceful contemplation and the study of wisdom. This city, he adds, possesses objects which delight the sight, and which conduce to promote the Christian religion; and then he speaks of its monasteries, far removed from all noise and interruption, where religious men devote themselves, in the sweetness of profound tranquillity, to divine contemplation †. Angels of peace were painted over the gates of cities, as at Soissons ‡, as if to proclaim that they were places of refuge for unhappy men; and

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. coll. tom. ii. p. 10.

† Comment. Savonarolæ de laudibus Patavii, lib. i. ap. Muratori, Rer. It. Script. tom. xxiv.

‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii.

in fact, after Toulouse had declared that she would defend all who fled to her, cities became asylums for serfs who sought protection. The feudal tyrants, enemies of peace, whom we shall presently speak of, seldom turned their reins to enter these narrow streets, between these solid habitations, from which men whom they had plundered or oppressed might look down upon them. Of the peaceful solemnities which took place within their walls we cannot omit mention; for assuredly they contributed to impart to them this pacific character. Such were those religious cavalcades, as at Malines, of angels and saints representing the litany of the blessed Virgin, and proclaiming by inscriptions that peace should flourish in their days; such those processions of the pardons of St. Medard at Soissons, in which used to walk as many as three hundred pilgrims of St. James, and the Sire de Salency, as descendant from St. Medard*; and such, too, those at Marseilles, which still can be remembered by the aged, when enemies, followed by their friends, used to visit their enemies, and embrace them; and then return to receive in their houses these same enemies, in order to confirm their peace in the name of heaven†. Notwithstanding all that feudal tyrants inflicted on the innocent, there can be no doubt but that the country, too, more or less participated in the pacific influence. To one who travels on foot, there is a great difference between coming every six miles to a cross by the way side, as in Catholic lands, and finding the stocks, as in England, which stand at the entrance of every village. In the middle ages no one ever passed a cross without uncovering and kneeling, as Van Dyck is said to have always done; and such moments could not have been wholly without effect upon the tempests of the heart. St. Bonaventura says it is the cross which causes peace within it.

“ Cor in cruce, crux in corde,
Absque sorde sit cum corde,
Quæ tranquillum faciat.”

It was something to see attested every where that He who wore the platted thorns with bleeding brow rules universal nature; when it was so well known, that what-

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 370.

† Monteil, Hist. des Français, viii. 355.

ever proud towers might be near, happy was he who walked with him—who saw his image in the fairest scenes, and felt that by his presence they were fairer still. In another respect, also, the highways in the middle ages were associated with an object of supreme peace. St. Thomas, in his treatise on the duties of government, showing the importance of establishing roads, assigns for reason that there may be less difficulty in visiting churches, and in obtaining by indulgence peace with heaven*. The dusty-footed had no longer to fear as disdainful the epithet conipodes, used once to express contempt; for beautiful were the feet that trod the paths of peace. And in Catholic countries still, when you sit beside a public way thick-strewn with summer dust, and see a great stream of people hurrying on, you may feel almost assured that it is some friend of God who draws them to gain indulgence where his relics lie.

In the middle ages religion endeavoured to extend to the most uncultivated minds the peace which flows from the observation of nature and the labours of a country life. A little book was composed in 1379, by order of King Charles V. of France, for the use of rustics, entitled *The True Government of Shepherds*, of which the object is to raise the rural life, to give the peasant an interest in it, and to console him after the calamities of war.

“Evidently,” says a French historian, “it is the king himself who has turned shepherd, and who, under this habit, comes to assist the people, discoursing sweetly to them, encouraging and instructing them. When the lambs are shorn, he says, the shepherd ought to be without sin, and he should have been to confession first. They ought to be treated lovingly: the profession is very honourable and of great authority; Abel having been the first shepherd, and the patriarchs and kings of old having tended their flocks in person. The matter of the book belongs to philosophy. It treats on the philosophy of shepherds †.”

In general, the obstacles to tranquillity being removed, a habit of calm and deep observation was fostered in the

* Lib. ii. 12.

† *Le Vray Régime et Gouvernement des Bergers et Bergères*. Composé par le Rustique, Jehan de Brie, c. 3, 4, 8.

country. If you will hear the men of the middle ages sweetly talk of the natural world around them, you will be told that the good of peace is visibly written, as if by the finger of God, in all creatures. Dionysius the Carthusian, following Augustine, remarks that God has not left the entrails of the smallest and meanest animal, not the wing of a bird, or the blossom of an herb, or the leaf of a tree, without its propriety of parts, or without, as it were, a certain peace*. The universe breathes peace.

“————— How quiet is the night!

The trees are motionless ; the cloudless blue
Sleeps in the firmament ; the thoughtful moon,
With her attendant train of circling stars,
Seems to forget her journey through the heavens,
To gaze upon the beauties of the scene.”

Between the visible frame of things and the human soul possessing the Catholic faith, there was a mysterious bond and an ineffable interchange of sympathies. These mysteries of intelligence were not left unexplored in the middle ages ; but, above all, their effects were profoundly experienced. Hence, an entire world of peace was at the disposal of men, however, in other regards, wretched.

O God, Creator of heaven and earth ! was their exclamation often ; what peace in all thy works where sin cannot enter ! what peace in the vast sea spread out in calm majesty ; what peace in the sweet aspect of the meadows and the valleys, surrounded by the blue mountains ; what peace in the holy silence of the woods, and in the banks of the clear winding streamlet ! Only in the human heart, where passions reign, is there foul confusion. But experience proved that the mere aspect of this loveliness could allay, like music, both those passions and that tempest of disordered thoughts. If hearts had not loved peace, it is true, all this eloquence of natural objects would have been powerless, or rather, it would have only enhanced the trouble of the mind diseased. But there never was a time when such multitudes, embracing men of intellectual greatness and of mighty energy, loved and yearned for peace : never were there, consequently, so many true lovers of nature, whose life,

* Dionys. Cart. de Venustate Mundi.

exempt from public haunt, found tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in every thing. Such philosophers, for religion made them truly lovers of wisdom, lived in the manner that Petrarch describes, speaking of his own residence on the Sorgia, “tranquil and at rest, content with little, wanting nothing, expecting nothing, counting it sufficient recreation to wander on the mountains, or near the fountains, or in the woods, or in the fields, loving the sequestered spots, rejoicing in the dewy caves, or the rocks lined with moss, or the flowery meadows, day and night consorting with the muses, having many books, with only rustic furniture and most frugal fare, being, as it were, present with the intelligences of the greatest men, and endeavouring all the while, like the Apostle, to forget the past, and to stretch forward to the things which are before ; in regard to imperfections, indeed men, but in peace of mind, as they sometimes unconsciously avow, almost angels*.” Their ears could catch amidst the country echoings sweet, to murmur through the heaven-breathing groves, and melodise with man’s blest nature there. What peace did St. Elizabeth imbibe from the country when she used to pray and meditate in the fields near Marbourg, or near the fountain in the grove at the foot of the mountain near the village of Schroeck, during a walk of two leagues occupied in contemplation † !

An old Spanish writer says that men pass whole nights keeping vigils and going about the streets of Cordova, in order to enjoy the sweet odours from the fragrant groves surrounding the city, with which the whole air is perfumed ‡. Only war, that channels fields and bruises flowerets with the armed hoofs of hostile paces, could interrupt the free wild walks of those to whom each rock or grove was an attraction. In peace every delightful spot was accessible to all ; there were no horrible threatenings placarded upon trees to awe the wanderer in quest of peace : tyrants, who placed round their dwellings contrivances of destruction, were, on that account alone, deemed infamous. The true pacific would never declare war upon the stranger or the poor

* Petrarch. Epist. vii. 4. xi. 14.

† Montalembert, Hist. de St. Eliz. 259.

‡ Ambros. Moral. de Corduba.

for visiting, uninvited, their retreats ; so that in Catholic lands the lovely scenes of nature are enjoyed by every one in common : and this I found “ in realms where the air we breathe is love, which on the winds or on the waves doth move, harmonizing this earth with what we feel above.”

At the beautiful villa of Nazareth, in the land of Pausalippo, was this inscription.

“ Nazareos quicunque Lares et amœna vireta,
 Frondosumque jugum, cultaque rura vides,
 Sis felix ; vanosque animo seclude pavores ;
 Non Deus hic curva falce timendus adest,
 Non custos rigidus, non durus vinitor ullus ;
 Non latrat ad querulas ore lycisca fores ;
 Sat largus dominus, sat illi dextra benigna,
 Hujus herum quivis se putet esse loci *.”

In those happy regions I saw verified what poets fancifully sing of transformation. Thou knowest, reader, if thou be one of us, that in lands where error is wide spread, hard-featured men, with proud, angry looks, or cold, staid gait, or false and hollow smiles, or the dull sneer of self-loved ignorance, or such other foul masks with which ill thoughts hide that fair being who was new-born to a blessed childhood, make us sick at heart to pass them. Well, it is true, they have infected rich men nearly all the world over with their malady, but still where the Holy Church commands the people the number of their imitators is small. A few of these ugly human shapes and visages pass here and there isolated and harmless, but those, amongst whom they pass, seem mild and lovely forms, breathing love and peace. All things seemed to have put their evil nature off ; peace makes a new earth, and, as Florus says, the heavens themselves seem more than usually serene and mild ; for when I looked, behold men walked one with the other, even as spirits do ; none fawned, none trampled ; hate, disdain, or fear, self-love or self-contempt on human brows were seen no more inscribed. None frowned, none trembled, none with eager fear gazed on another's eye of cold command ; none wrought his lips in truth-entangling lines, which smiled the lie his tongue disdained to speak ;

* Antiq. et Hist. Campaniæ, c. 5. ap. Græv. Thes. Antiq. Ital. ix.

none, with firm sneer, trod out in his own heart the sparks of love and hope till there remained those bitter ashes, a soul self-consumed, and the wretch crept a vampire among men, infesting all with his own hideous ill. The loathsome mask had fallen—the man remained, new-created, equal, just, gentle, innocent, and wise. The old historians of Italy delight to dwell upon the sweet pacific character of different states, and the harmony which reigned in them between rich and poor. Thus, of the citizens of Bergamo in 707, we read, “The people have seldom any contests with each other; for golden peace binds them in a stable manner. The poor man and the rich have peace :

‘ Pace manet pauper, pacis quoque fœdere dives *.’ ”

“ Deservedly,” says another writer in 1330, “ is there a double P in the name of this city, Papia, in which the lips are joined together, on account of justice and peace, which met and kissed each other here when the Longobards made those most just laws which it has preserved in peace to this day. It is Papia, as if *parens pietatis*, *amica Pacis*—peaceful city, in which from the time of blessed Syrus, its apostle, no prophet, excepting Boëthius, who died here an exile for justice and truth, has ever suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ †.” “ The inhabitants of Nola,” says Ambrose Leo, “ have never nourished seditions or civil feuds. In our time such madness is unknown them ‡.” To that love of beauty and elegance in every thing which made the people of that state exclude all deformity from their city, and allow of no trades but such as are wholesome and necessary to innocent life, this writer ascribes, not only the extraordinary number of handsome persons found amongst them, but also their placid, amiable, and benevolent manners; all, he says, mutually love one another. There are no factions, no homicides, no treasons, no robberies §. Without doubt, the immense developement

* *Magistri Moysis Carmen de Laudibus Bergomi*, ap. *Muratori Rer. Ital. Script.* v.

† *Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ*, ap. *id. Rer. Ital. Script.* xi.

‡ *De Nola*, lib. i. c. 15. ap. *Græv. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital.* ix.

§ *Id.* iii. c. 6.

and influence of the fine arts, inspired as they were by the exquisite sentiment of truth and beauty, tended to calm the angry passions of men, and to promote the delicious enjoyment of social peace.

The gentleness and meekness which Ughelli ascribes to the whole people of Amalphi justify, as he says, the remark of Leander Albertus, that the whole country of that people is a paradise. When hearts were in charity, and minds enabled to discern the source from which all loveliness proceeds, each generation could in peace enjoy all that was intrinsically good and beautiful without cutting off any part or excluding any class from partaking of the Divine bounty. There was much more to unite than to separate high and low, and in affection and a common fund of sympathies to equalize all conditions; for what all prized most was the Creator's workmanship, and not the tinsel with which riches that belong but to a few could overlay it. "Even independent of spiritual considerations," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "no one should be proud of his nobility; for it often happens that the child of a rustic is handsomer, and more ingenious, and more noble in mind than the son of a king*." And as these were the goods most coveted where Catholic manners reigned, it was easier to satisfy the desires of men without disturbing the order and the calm of life. But all this tranquillity could be traced to that possession of truth within the city of God, where angels and ministers of grace were commissioned to dispense peace. Yes! that annual benediction of the Common Father from the Portal of St. Peter, *urbi et orbi*, descended on the city and on the world. Those who received it in person returned consoled and strengthened; but all men were blessed. "*Urbi et orbi*." When those paternal arms were raised to God the spirit of peace was sent to all the nations and to all the races of the earth. So life glided smoothly, more golden than that fabled age renowned in ancient song: not vexed with care or stained with guilt, beneficent, approved of God and man, and peaceful in its end.

* Direct. Vitæ Nobilium, 6. -

CHAPTER VII.

WE have seen the influence of pacific hearts upon the family, and upon social intercourse in general: let us now consider it in reference to the state and to the political order; for which purpose, as we proceeded with reference to the meek, we must examine what were the general views and principles in regard to peace, on which all government rested in ages of faith, and then attend to the fruits which resulted, notwithstanding the disorders of which we have already traced the sad existence. What is the origin of rule? The answer of the ages of faith may be collected from these words of King Manfred to the Count of the Pisans.—“Freedom of will and action having been granted to our human nature, and the disobedience of our first parents having entailed a proneness to transgress on all their posterity, the Creator, in his mercy, ordained princes and ministers of justice upon earth, in order that we should secure to all our subjects peace and justice, and that all may live under our dominion in pacific tranquillity*.”

“If truth were to possess the minds of all men,” says Agobard, “the things of the world would remain in peace even without rulers and princes; but now, because he who did not stand in truth never ceases to act against truth, and while men sleep to sow the weeds of scandals, finding hearts sufficiently apt, which receive and nourish his seeds, the evil of commotion abounds, which disturbs the quiet of peace and unity: therefore there is need of solicitous and watchful men to act against the corrupters of truth and peace†.” Such was the doctrine of the schools. “As we find in material things,” says Denis the Carthusian, “that nature gives to each that by which it may attain to its perfection, so the people

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. ii. 1221.

† De Comparatione utriusque Regim.

are committed to a chief, by means of whose labours and solicitude they may arrive at their perfection and intended end; namely, felicity and peace *." "The good of the multitude," says St. Thomas, "seems to be order and peace, which is tranquillity of order; so that the end of the government of the world is pacific order †." Now mark how well it was understood, as men reminded Duke Albert of Austria, that "the first duty and the real glory of a ruler is to secure peace to the people committed to him ‡." Ansegisus bears witness that Charlemagne, in making his laws, declares his great object to be peace. "Before all things he sought the defence, and exaltation and honour of holy mother Church, and that the people should have peace and justice." "The royal elevation attains to its greatest height when it puts an end by just sentence to the quarrels of all men." Such is the exordium of one of his diplomas §. It was his great care, says Heumann, that all men should live quietly and orderly, that they should avoid strifes, or that their causes should be justly decided ||. The office of temporal governments, as realized in Charlemagne, was to protect religion, to put an end to all discords, and to maintain order and peace in the Catholic society ¶. This is expressed in the lugubrious rhythm on the death of Charlemagne, composed in St. Columban's abbey of Bobbio, and thence disseminated over Italy.

"Pater communis orfanorum omnium, peregrinorum, viduarum, virginum: heu mihi misero!
Christe, cœlorum qui gubernas agmina, tuo in regno da requiem
Carolo: heu mihi misero **!"

In accordance with this principle the act of accusation brought against Louis le débonnaire rested on his not having provided sufficiently for the public peace: though pacific in heart, he was to be deposed because of the diverse expeditions which he made in the kingdom com-

* De Vita et Regim. Princip. lib. iii. c. 4.

† Q. ciii. art. 2.

‡ Thom. Ebendorff Haselbach. Chron. Austriac. ap. Pez. tom. ii.

§ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. i. 32. || Id. i. 91.

¶ Moeller, Man. d'Hist. du Moyen Age, i. 9.

** Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. ii. p. 11.

mitted to him, not alone uselessly but injuriously, in which innumerable crimes were perpetrated; homicide, perjury, sacrilege, adultery, rapine, burning, and oppression of the poor*. Similarly in later times, Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, was deposed by the electors "because he did not labour to prevent the holy Church, the sacred empire, and all christianity, from being disturbed, as he was bound to have done by his office†." "It is the office of the royal majesty to provide with pious solicitude for the quiet of the churches," say the ordinances of Louis VI. and Louis VII., Kings of France‡. The Emperor Charles IV., writing to Henry, Abbot of Fulda, observes that it is the office of the imperial majesty so to provide for the churches, that their ministers, enjoying the sweet delights of peace, may so much the more freely be devoted to the divine service, as they enjoy security under the rule of a gracious prince§. So also Lewis, the brother of Charles the Bald, is reminded by the bishops that the office of a Christian king is to defend the Church, and to provide for the tranquillity and peace of Christendom ||.

Let us hear the letter of Pope Adrian, in 869, to all the glorious dukes, counts, and other primates in the kingdom of Charles: "All virtues, indeed, are to be cultivated by the disciples of Christ, but none are more useful than the maintenance of peace in mutual love with all men, and especially among the more sublime personages whose example so much the more moves others. Therefore in these presents, in season and out of season, I admonish, entreat, and exhort you, to endeavour to cause and maintain the good of peace in all men, and especially among the princes of the world. You are not ignorant how the pious Emperor Lewis spares not himself, but endures all things, and declines no suffering in order that he may promote the quiet and peace of the faithful¶." So Lupus, Abbot of Ferrers, in 850, instructing the Emperor Charles the Bald, begins by taking this duty for granted, saying, "Ut pacifice, feliciterque regnetis."

* Ap. Duchesne, An. Franc. ii.

† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 31.

‡ Id. vii. 70.

§ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. iii. 338.

|| Ap. Baronius, ad an. 858.

¶ Id. ad an. 869.

"In order that you may reign pacifically and happily, you must always return thanks, and pray with daily supplications to God, your Creator and future Judge *." Godfried of Viterbo says to Henry VI., who was then a youth of great promise, showing him how he should rule the empire.

"Prospice, quicquid agis, te tibi nosce magis,
Lautius est tibi te solam constringere legem.
Quam varios populos, aut magnos vincere reges,
Pace frui, punire malos, Henrice, labora.
Si scelus exploras, pax erit absque mora †."

So, again, the Empress Richenza says, "Constituted by divine providence over kingdoms, that we may root up what is noxious, and plant with the Prophet what is salubrious, we wish to extend our care to all our provinces, that we may allay the disturbance of troubles, and cause all to preserve mutual charity towards each other, being governed in the bonds of true peace ‡." "Quia scriptum est, beati pacifici," was so strictly a diplomatic phrase, as appears from the ancient monuments, that even the Emperor Frederic II., writing to make peace between two Norwegian princes, is obliged to use the same language: "The royal unction and chief dignity," he says, "are constituted in the world by the celestial dispensation to procure peace and justice for the people and nations I subject §." The letters of King Charles VI. of France, in 1401, contain this passage: "The sovereign Lord and Creator of all things, our Saviour Jesus Christ, when He deigned to humble Himself to take human form to visit and redeem His creatures that are made in His own image, taught his disciples above all things to have and retain peace amongst themselves, thus instructing all that would follow him to seek peace, which is the sovereign good in this mortal habitation. Therefore we who by divine grace and ordination are established in royal dignity, wish and desire with all our strength, following the instructions of our said sovereign Lord, to guard and govern all our subjects in peace and tranquillity, and

* Epist. lxiii.

† Pantheon, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. vii.

‡ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. iii. 25.

§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. et Mon. Collect. ii. 1187.

take from them all matter of divisions and discord *.” Canute, King of Denmark, writing to the Emperor Conrad, in 1151, says, “The King of kings for this end hath constituted and chosen you, that you may be the father of justice, and a son of peace †.” This principle is announced in proclaiming a new emperor. The prince electors having made their choice, published it to the people in these terms: “We have chosen the Lord Rupert count palatine of the Rhine, trusting that he will procure with the greatest diligence, peace both in the holy Church and in the sacred empire ‡.” “The prince,” we read, in the *Speculum Morale* of Vincent, “ought above all things to study clemency and peace;” after the example of King Assuerus, who says, “when I ruled over many nations, I was unwilling to abuse my power; but I sought with clemency to govern my subjects, that passing their life in silence without any terror, they might enjoy that peace which is desired by all mortals.” In short, the avowed object of all government in ages of faith was to secure glory to God, and peace on earth to men of goodwill. The Catholic religion admitted of no other.

In conformity with these views, the holy Church, in the benediction of the Paschal candle, prays for the king, that God, knowing the vows of his desire, by the gift of ineffable piety, and mercy, may grant him a tranquil time of perpetual peace, and a celestial victory with all his people. In the ceremony of coronation the pacific character of government is beautifully expressed. In the Roman *ordo* for the crowning of the emperor, the Church prays that God may deign to visit him as Samuel in the temple, and inundate him with the dew of that wisdom which blessed David received in the composition of the Psalms; that he may have confidence in danger and patience in prosperity; that his nobles may keep peace with him, love charity; and that the people may flourish in peace, with the benediction of eternity. At the coronation the Pope asks the Emperor if he wishes to have peace with the Church, and he answering thrice, “I wish it,” the Pope adds, “and I give you peace as the Lord gave to his disciples;” at the same time kissing

* Ap. Martene, *Vet. Script. &c.* tom. i. p. 1559.

† Ap. id. ii. 496.

‡ Ap. Martene, *Vet. Script. &c.* tom. iv. 22.

his forehead and his chin, both his knees, and lastly his mouth. Then the Pope, citing the apostolic admonition, "*Manum cito nemini imposueris*," addresses him in these words : "Do you wish, as far as possible, to labour in the divine service? Do you wish, by the divine assistance, to guard your manners from all evil? Do you wish to observe sobriety with the divine assistance? Do you wish to abstain from all shameful gain? Do you wish to cultivate in yourself humility and patience, and incline others to the same? Do you wish to be affable and merciful to the poor and to strangers, and to all the indigent?" To each interrogation he answers, "*In quantum possum volo*." Then the Pope places the crown on his head, with these words : "Receive the sign of glory in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; that, despising the ancient enemy, and despising the contagion of vices, you may so love judgment and justice, and so live mercifully, that from our Lord Jesus Christ Himself you may receive the crown of an eternal kingdom in the fellowship of the saints." After the mass and the litanies of the saints, the archdeacon, with the other deacons of the palace and others standing between the cross and the altar, sing aloud, "Our hope, our salvation, our victory, our honour, our glory, our impregnable wall, our praise, our triumph ;" and between each exclamation the choir responds, "*Christus vincit*," adding after the last, "To him be praise, honour, and empire, world without end*." In the order for the coronation of Lewis III., in 877, at the anointing there was a prayer, that "Almighty God who enriched Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and peace, would deign to decorate this His servant with the same grace, and to anoint him with the oil of grace with which He anointed priests, kings, prophets, and martyrs, who by faith conquered kingdoms, worked justice, and obtained the promises ; that He would turn His countenance to him, and grant him peace ; that He would convert his enemies to the benignity of peace and charity, so that under his rule all the clergy and people might enjoy tranquillity and peace†."

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. dissert. iii.

† Ap. Duchesne, tom. ii.

The Archbishop of Cologne, in crowning Otho, in 936, when giving him the sword, said, "Take this sword with which you may expel all adversaries of Christ, barbarians, and evil Christians, and sustain the most firm peace of all Christians;" and when investing him with the robes which descended to the ground, he said it was to admonish him to persist in maintaining peace unto the end*. At the coronation, in 1252, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the Marquis of Brandenburg said, "Take the sceptre of the kingdom, that you may govern all men of good-will in tranquil peace†." When the Counts of Flanders took possession of their states, the ceremony was performed by the Abbots of St. Peter, at Ghent, who said to them, in giving the sword, "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, and mark that the saints, not by the sword, but by faith, conquered kingdoms. Be strong, and fight the battles of the Lord‡." The very choice of titles to express the imperial and royal power, indicated the priority of a pacific character over every other qualification. Thus the Carlovingians were addressed as "the most serene and most tranquil emperors." In the old diplomas the epithets of honour are serenity, mildness, clemency. Hear how the people saluted Charlemagne when Pope Leo crowned him in the church of St. Peter on Christmas-day. They cried out "August, crowned of God, peaceable Emperor of the Romans§." In public acts he is styled the most serene Charles, great pacific emperor||. Agobard's address to Louis le débonnaire is, "to the most benign of the benign, to the most tranquil of the meek;" and his exhortation is, that he who illustrates faith may propagate also peace¶. In another work he says to him, "I beseech your most tranquil longanimity**;" and elsewhere, "I beseech your imperturbable meekness and most tranquil prudence††." Admonitions, founded on these titles, were repeatedly addressed to rulers. "What shall I say of the affection

* Annalista Saxo, ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.

† Rer. Leod. sub Heinsbergis, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. &c. v.

‡ Martene, Voyage Lit. de Deux Bened. 193.

§ Chroniques de St. Denis, ii. 1.

|| Germania Sacra, ii. 120.

¶ Advers. Dogm. Felicis.

** De Insolent. Judæor. 57.

†† Epist. 103.

which you have for the public peace of all," says Poggius to the King of Aragon, "seeing that you style yourself king of peace—magnificent title, surpassing that of all empires, exceeding all triumphs! This is great praise, and I know not whether it be obnoxious to a single stain. Certainly among mortal men nothing is more salutary, nothing more gracious, nothing more holy. By adopting such a name you show what is affirmed by the wise of old, that wars are only to be undertaken in order that we may live in peace; for they are never to be commenced with any other end or hope. Therefore, O most worthy king, if you persevere in this will, and realize it by deeds, you will surpass the glory of all the princes that ever were illustrious among men. Augustus is cited as amongst the best; but dark were the stains of his early and latter life; whereas your deeds are exempt from all shade of cruelty or violence. You have shed no blood. In your actions one finds no proscriptions, no trace of slaughter. Victory herself, by nature so insolent and proud, you have conquered by humanity. The injuries of your adversaries have been only an occasion of practising clemency and forgiveness. Finally, you have procured for all leisure, repose, peace. Without the terror of an army, you have delivered the country from disturbers of order. There is the same security in country and town, so that under your government a golden age may be said to have returned*."

A French historian remarks that the ecclesiastical character of the kings of France presents a pacific image when contrasted with the martial ferocity of the English Plantagenets. The truth, however, is that the half-sacerdotal character attached to monarchy was not confined to that of any nation. It belonged to the type of the Catholic ruler, whose throne, deemed sacred, God and his angels were invoked to guard. "The Cæsar being elected, his office, to express it in a word," says an old writer, "is to be a rival of the pontiff. '*Æmulamini charismata meliora.*' The one has the keys of the temple, the other of the kingdom. What is Cæsar's is given to Cæsar, what is God's to God, in the church the pontiff, in the tribunal the emperor, both for peace; the one for that

* Pog. Brac. Epist. Regi Ar. Mansi, Append. Baluzi Miscel. iii.

of souls, the other for that of bodies. Such was the ancient concord between the priesthood and the empire*." This accounts for the priestly gravity which was required in kings. "The king," says a counsellor of Charles VI., "who does not perform his duty to God, his Creator, cannot discharge it to his people†." "The king ought to live in peace of conscience, and his thoughts, in time of prayer, ought to be free from all noise and secular care; and in order to pray God and consider well his affairs, he ought to be peaceable and free from all tribulation. But this is a very difficult thing for persons who desire the vain glory of this world,—as difficult as to be at sea without fearing the storm, or to hear thunder without dread. The king ought to be very high, despising earthly things, and coveting those that endure for ever‡." In truth, all the ceremonial of courts was calculated to confirm these views. The progresses of the first Otho, on festivals from his palace to the church and back, presented an image of the best kind of conquerors and a glorification of sacerdotal peace; for on all festivals, we read, he used to proceed to vespers, and matins, and mass with venerable procession of bishops and clerks of other degree with crosses, and holy relics, and thuribles, conducted to the church, and then, with great fear of God, he used to stand and sit till all was finished, speaking nothing but what was divine; and thence to his chamber he returned with many lights and great company of priests, and dukes, and counts§. What pacific notions of kingly power do such scenes indicate; especially when we remember that the time had not then come to mock at form; and that grave magistrates and the whole people regarded them as the safeguards of the republic. Stephen Pasquier says that the holy relics, given by St. Louis, are the best jewels of the kings of France, which they should preserve with more care than their crowns||. So when the Count of Flanders went into Italy against the Saracens, on the Pope abandoning to him all his

* Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, lib. i. c. 6.

† Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 21.

‡ Id. 28.

§ Ann. Saxo ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Æv. 1.

|| Recherches de la France, iii. 22.

treasures, he would take nothing at his departure but a particle of some holy relics *. Their thrones, in fact, were established upon the peace for which the holy martyrs died; while many kings desired, like all other devout lay men, to cultivate a sacerdotal taste, and so far in all their actions to imitate the ministers of peace. The king of France sat as a simple canon among the canons of St. Quentin, Tours, and Ambrun. Their education was in the temples of peace.

Rigord begins his history of Philip Augustus by addressing his son Louis in these words: "Let our holy mother Church exult and rejoice in the Lord, for the Lord will visit his people, and will have compassion upon his servants. Truly, a voice of joy and exultation hath sounded in the tabernacles of the Franks when they see their king, educated from his cradle in the studies of wisdom, preparing his throne in justice and judgment, uniting wisdom and royal power, granting to the poor peace, and to the Church its ancient dignity, gloriously to govern the kingdom committed to him in the kiss of justice and of peace †." That was a curious contention, described in the chronicles of St. Denis, between the King of France and the Bishop of Paris, when they strove to conquer each other in pity, and made battle for mercy, in order that the poor might be enriched by their treasures ‡. The symbols of majesty were all designed to indicate the pacific end of power. Those kings, who contrived in their blazon to turn spear-heads and impure toads into lilies, emblematical of purity and peace, had in view, no doubt, the wands which angels bear in the oldest representations of members of the celestial hierarchy, which are all crowned with that flower. In heraldic painting the white, we read, was the most noble colour, after azure, as signifying purity, charity, and innocence §. The symbol of Ghent was a lion, crowned, sleeping on the knees of the Blessed Virgin. Kings often over their armour wore sacerdotal vestments, as may be witnessed in the old pictures of

* *Le Livre de Baudouyn*, 9.

† Rigordus de Gestis Phil. August. ap. *Recueil des Hist. de Franks*, tom. xvii.

‡ *Liv.* iii. c. 5.

§ *L'Arbre des Batailles*.

St. Ferdinand. The Emperor Otho II. had a vestment on which could be read all the Apocalypse *. St. Louis had precious vestments of different colours, according to the solemnities of the day. In short, the whole state was founded on the pacific type of the best kingdom. The pacific character of royal majesty was a religious idea, emanating from what was believed of the celestial dominations and powers ; for it was a devotional exercise in reparation of the sins of anger, passion, and revenge, to offer to God the peace, mildness, and tranquillity of the thrones. The Christian religion had put every thing in its place, so that the hierarchy of men was as complete as that of angels in the order shown by Dionysius. As in the latter thrones are after Seraphim and Cherubim, so in the state, physical force was regarded after love and science. In the ancient Christian sculpture, dominations, which command angels, and principalities which rule over men, are represented with crowns and sceptres ; but powers which command the Satanic race are shown with spears and shield, since the Devil only yields to force. Therefore the crown and sceptre were the symbols of royal power, and the maxim was, “ ’Tis more kingly to obtain peace than to enforce conditions by constraint.” The spirits which formed the choir of thrones, so near to the glory of the majesty of God, were called angels of peace, for they participate in the divine peace, and are called to communicate it to men. It was through their intercession that the faithful hoped to obtain the peace of soul which is promised to the children of God. Hence they invoked the king in a temporal, as they did the thrones in a spiritual sense, to reconcile enemies, while they sought to imitate them in being angels of peace towards their fellow men, by an unalterable sweetness and a patience which nothing could overcome. “ Whence is jurisdiction ? ” “ I answer, from God,” replies the author of the Tree of Battles. “ Who was the first judge over men ? God. Then by natural necessity and divine right rulers were made ; and, certes, it was reasonable that men who were to live reasonably should be subject to a ruler.” You perceive then, reader, how sublime was the type proposed—it was the

* Michelet, *Orig. du Droit*, 214.

good and clement king, to whom all good things are pleasing *. Accordingly, the pacific thought appears through all instructions administered to kings—the rule of all power being, in fact, that of the divine wisdom, invoked by the Church in the first of her anthems preparatory to Christmas, of which she says, “*Fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia.*”

John of Salisbury says that a prince should imitate blessed Job. He does not propose Alexander or Cæsar, but the model which teaches men that “constant patience will give more pleasure than all the power of the world.” “The life of Job,” he says, “is a model for rule—free from all ambition or covetousness, or the desire to join field to field as far as the ends of space, as if one alone were to dwell on the face of the earth. If kings thus hear and observe the voice of God, they will fulfil their days in good and their years in glory †.” “Patience,” says Dionysius the Carthusian, “which opposes sadness, is most necessary to princes; for as it is their office to restrain the anger and impatience of their subjects, and to lead the discordant to peace, it is necessary that they, above all, should be patient ‡.” “Blessed humility,” he says again, “is more especially necessary to noble persons §.” “A king who is not humble,” says Peter of Blois, “is a tyrant ||.”

Gervase of Tillebury begins his book, entitled *Otia Imperialia*, addressed to the Emperor Otho IV., by wishing him peace, interior and exterior. He says that the king and the priest are both administrators of the divine law; and he tells him that it would be better his empire should be diminished in extent of territory than corrupted by iniquity through defect of justice ¶. Innumerable diplomas of the ancient emperors begin with this sentence:—“Having always before our eyes the divine examination of the last judgment **.” This was conformable to the advice of St. Adalbert to Otho III. when he saw him at Mayence, and exhorted him to remember death, to make himself a father to the poor, to

* Hymn on Palm Sund.

† De Nug. Cur. v. 6.

‡ De Vita et Regim. Principum, lib. ii. 23.

§ Directorium Vitæ Nobilium, 5.

|| Tract. Quales sunt, c. 17.

¶ Ib. 12.

** Vide Heumann de Re Diplom. iii.

fear the strict judgment of God, to love mercy, and to recollect ever how narrow is the way which leads to life, and how few enter by it*.

“We exhort your noble prudence,” says Pope Anaclet to the Empress Richenza, “that amidst royal cares, and the solicitude of secular affairs, and the glories of the world, you may have your heart always directed to the Lord, not affecting the praises of men by your pious works, lest you should within be displeasing to the eyes of God. Sedulously exhort your husband, our dearest son Lothaire, the most Christian king, so to preside with human power over an earthly kingdom as to please always Him who is above us, by whom kings reign, and princes exercise justice—who transfers kingdoms when He will, who makes kings inglorious and encompasseth their reins with a cord †.” St. Peter Damian, describing the humble entry of the Empress Agnes into Rome, says that it was so because all the glory of the king’s daughter is within. “We sometimes fast from meat, but you,” he says to her, “fast from purple: you fast from a crown and from all the magnificent pomps of imperial glory. To abstain from these on which the carnal mind feeds so delectably, may not undeservedly be styled a fast. O what a grave and laudable abstinence—after being Susannah with your husband, to have become an Anna when he is no more.” Lupus, Abbot of Ferrers, concludes a letter to Charles the Bald thus, “you know how often I implore the clemency of God, that He may grant you a bloodless victory, perpetual peace, a hatred of vices, the possession of virtues, and so to reign on earth, that you may not lose a kingdom in heaven ‡.” “The king should ever remember,” says another counsellor near the throne, “how the glory of this world is very little and vain, and how power is frail, and passes soon §.” “O kings and princes, hear,” cries another. “Love the light of wisdom, all ye who preside over the people; for as it is your office to preserve them in a virtuous and pacific state, the study of wisdom is above all to you necessary. As every action of a Christian should spring originally from divine charity, kings

* Vita St. Adalb. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.

† Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. iii. 225.

‡ Epist. xxxviii.

§ Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 24.

and princes, in all their temporal and external actions, should keep in view a spiritual end; namely, the salvation of those committed to them, that they may have a pacific life on earth, and eternal glory in heaven: for the law and civil government are ordained to this end, that their subjects should lead a peaceful life in this world, which means a peaceful life according to the doctrines of the Gospel; that they should have peace, not only amongst each other, and with foreign nations, but also within their own minds with God, resting in charity and obedience as in the supreme good*." Lupus reminds the Emperor Charles the Bald, "that they who will not be pacific cannot be sons of God†." Wipo impresses on Henry, son of the Emperor Conrad, the proverb which says "that wisdom is better than secular power‡." The Bishops of France addressed Lewis, brother of Charles the Bald, in these words: "he who says that he remains in Christ, ought to walk as He walked, who said, 'be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.' And if you ask how can I be perfect? this you will be, we answer, if the cupidity of glory doth not inflame you; if you desire not riches, nor power; and if you attend to your own conscience, and not to the flattering words of others—if you render to God what belongs to God, and as a just Cæsar, if you render to your subjects what belongs to your subjects, defending the church and Christendom, and all the people of Christ in equity and peace§." "Do you wish to be a Christian, and are you a King," asks Ratherius of Verona, who answers, "Beware then of the vices which are often disguised as virtues; beware of mistaking insane impatience for fortitude, of supposing that you serve justice when you are gratifying your anger. Beware of cruelty and impious ambition. Be brave, not proud, temperate, not remiss, just, not cruel. Remember the woe pronounced on those who love to join house to house, and field to field, and consider how grievous is the crime of cupidity, which can destroy both you and your people. Respect and defend the ministers of Christ. While you rejoice on hearing daily sung in the church 'Domine salvum fac Regem,'

* Dionys. Carthus. de vita et regim. Princip. liv. i. 5.

† Epist. xcvi.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.

§ Baronius ad an. 858.

fear what follows, 'et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te,' if you should forget or neglect to fulfil the office of a Christian king, for what would avail their prayer, if you should prevent them from leading a tranquil life? The apostle commanding us to pray for kings, dukes, and all in authority, adds 'ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus :' beware, therefore, lest while this which gives you such pleasure is sung, God should be invoked against you, while we cry out for ourselves, and while those cry out who are unanimous with us in voice and charity. And think not to say that evil prayers would not be heard; for though we are bound to pray for those who persecute us, still remember that God has declared He will avenge, and that speedily, His elect who cry out to him day and night. Continue then, O good king, to preserve the citizens; accept if it be from strangers, but give to your own, and remember that you ought to bear, not to press the people. Be erect to the proud, but submissive to the humble, mild to all, affable to all, moderate; remembering that power is for utility; and he who has not patience, ought not to have power, 'non debet habere potestatem qui non habet patientiam.' Love the good, and pity the evil, for as the proverb saith, 'the best thing is to extirpate not criminals, but crimes.' 'Res enim optima est, non sceleratos extirpare, sed scelera;' and with respect to the peace of your kingdom, beware of those who disturb it, and you know it not. Whence that most holy king cried, 'Delicta quis intelligit? ab alienis parce servo tuo.' Think not that crimes can be cleansed by alms. What alone can take them away is to cease from committing them; but daily sins, such as giving a harsh word, &c. may be thus blotted out. Interrogate who of the ancient kings walked justly and wisely? Who sought most to do the will of God, who ruled the people with most justice? who sought most to do the will of God, who constructed churches, founded monasteries, ordained hospices? Embrace him, follow him, imitate him. Beware how you seize upon the property given for holy ends. If they by giving it gained eternal life, you by taking it will acquire hell, for the things of the church are fiery. Choose ministers who will reprove you in mercy, and not pour on your head the oil of poisonous and deadly adulation. Take heed lest while in edicts, letters, and decrees you are styled

pious, in deeds you appear impious. Place a bridle on anger, and limit to avarice. Compassionate your poor companions, I say not servants nor subjects, but companions, for in Christ we are all one*." Peace with the indigent and with the immense class of subjects that required relief and assistance, was to be secured by the alms and munificence of the state, "every ruler," as St. Thomas shows, "being bound to provide for them from the common treasury†." Unknown to the Catholic society of the middle ages, were those ancient horrors of the Roman tax-gatherers in Gall, so minutely described by Lactantius, who compares the desolation to that of cities taken by storm, and to the exactions of a conqueror at the head of his army‡. When Hugues de Bourgogne passed a decree to levy an impost on the people of Grenoble, the bishop, John de Sassenage, cited the canon of the last council of Lateran, by which rulers were forbidden, on pain of anathema, to oppress their subjects by such levies. Hugues was obliged to yield, and swear that he would desist in future from such attempts, and preserve faithfully all liberties and good customs. It is curious to remark that the first rulers who departed from the pacific ideal of government in this respect, were those who sought to emancipate themselves from the authority of the holy see. With respect to the details of administration, we should observe how the most minute directions for rule were dictated with a view to peace. Thus Dionysius the Carthusian says, "that kings and princes should be affable and familiar towards their nobles, and should induce their wives to be affable to the wives and daughters of the nobles, lest if the latter should perceive themselves slighted, they might excite their husbands to cause seditions and troubles in the state §." Thus the Templars explained the friendship which existed between their grand master and the Sultan, by saying, that "the former showed him that affection and honour, in order to preserve the lands of the Christians in peace, and prevent the incursions of the Sa-

* Ratherii Ver. Epist. Præloquiorum, lib. iii. & iv. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.

† De Regim. Prin. ii. 15.

‡ Lactantii lib. de Mortibus Persecutorum, 23.

§ De Regim. Princ. iii. 5.

racens*.” If you ask the chief advantage from the institution of coin, St. Thomas replies, “ that it is the prevention of strife in commerce†:” or from that of weights and measures, and he gives the same answer‡; or from the division of property, and it is still the same§. Or if you ask why no one can assume the coat-arms of another, the author of the Tree of Battles replies, that princes being bound to maintain their subjects in peace, so that soberly and pacifically they may live under them without wronging each other, and as the assuming of another man’s coat-arms would be a cause of quarrel, therefore the sovereign is bound to prevent it. As in the lessons themselves, so in the choice of the men who were to give them to kings, the desire of peace is discernible. In France, during five centuries, from Suger to Fleury, the priest reigns alternately with the legist. Similarly in Germany, it is the pacific Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, who administers the kingdom in the absence of the Emperor; and what a labourer for peace was he ||! Peace must have been the object of government, when such men as St. Bernard, Suger, and Matthew, Abbots of St. Denis, Wibald, Abbot of Corby, Peter of Blois, and others like them, were chosen, whose pacific manners, as in the instance of Cotton in the time of Henry IV., used to make them be styled the good angels of the court. “ One cannot but remark,” says Michelet, “ the singular talent of ecclesiastics for political government. This must arise from the wisdom resulting to them from the confessional. There they learn to read the hearts of men, and there they find what is elsewhere never found, never written.” Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his letter to Pope Alexander III. excuses the English bishops for attending in the royal councils, saying, “ that it is for the interest of the people they should attend there.” “ They,” he says, “ ought to assist the king in his councils, who know how, and wish, and have the power to compassionate the unhappy, to provide for the peace of the land, and the safety of the

* Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1248.

† De Regim. Princ. ii. 13.

‡ Id. ii. 14.

§ Id. iv. 4.

|| Chronica regia S. Pantaleonis ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, 1.

people, to instruct kings to justice, and subjects to virtue. By the episcopal mediation, the rigour of justice is softened, the cry of the poor is heard, the dignity of the church maintained, the want of the indigent supplied. There ensues freedom for the clergy, peace for the people, rest for the monasteries, justice for all. If we prohibit bishops from associating with the king, we shall take away rest from the monasteries, consolation from the oppressed, and liberty from the church*.” Peter of Blois, describing the council of state in England, says, “that the most intricate questions respecting the kingdom are proposed there, and that each member delivers his opinion without contention or obstinacy, while elsewhere grammarians are disputing about syllables with tumult and vociferation†.” “We will so provide for your honour and welfare,” he writes to the eldest son of Henry II. “that you shall obtain more by peace, than you could extort by fire and sword‡.” Goldast says to John Swichard, Archbishop of Mayence, “what others by force of arms could never do, you have effected; for you have caused all subjects to live in safe and tranquil peace, proving yourself truly a worthy archchancellor to a pacific and glorious emperor§.” So the Bishop of Mondonedo, preacher of the Emperor Charles V. says, “it is much better for a republic to endure some wrong and injustice, than to have recourse to war, and it is certain that our Lord will hear rather the hearts of those who pray for peace, than the trumpets which are to proclaim war||.” What rest for the people when such men were in the royal councils! John of Salisbury says, “that the interests of the poor people should be the objects of paramount solicitude with a king¶; and that the public welfare consists in nothing else but in the security of individuals**.” “The prejudice,” as Niebuhr terms it††, which existed in favour of elderly counsellors, as wiser than the young, may be noticed also as symptomatic of the pacific mind. “Kings should choose wise counsellors, we read, in order

* Pet. Bles. epist. lxxxiv.

† Epist. vii.

‡ Id. xlvii.

§ Aleman. Rerum, Script. Dedicat.

|| Liv. iii.

¶ De Nug. Cur. lib. v. c. 7.

** Id. iii. l.

†† Hist. of Rome, iv. 112.

that they may govern pacifically, and enable their subjects to lead a tranquil life. Each counsellor must beware lest he should ever act by the impulse of passion, or of his own will, or from a root of pride, lest anger, impatience, or any other vice should disturb his judgment *. Counsellors of state were to be men of eminent patience, to hear and endure contrary opinions †; and it was deemed “better to choose good men of moderate capacity, than men of splendid abilities, with less virtue ‡.” In fact the people still held to Cato’s maxim, “that no one could be a good senator, who was not a good husband.” “The king ought not to have faith in a man who boasts to be wise, but whose works are not good,” says Pierre Salmon, addressing Charles VI.; “for many words,” he adds, “are vain, and works show the man. The counsellor should be a patient man, and obedient to the holy Church.” Nor was it only pacific men who were the counsellors of kings. The government of the state was conducted on the same principle, as that of the family in which every natural and legitimate influence was recognized. During the desolation of Frejus, after its invasion by the Saracens in the tenth century, Augustus, Count of Provence, took possession of some property belonging to the churches of our Lady and of St. Leonce. When Riculphe, bishop of the see, remonstrated with him, the count replied, “that he was very anxious to satisfy him, but that he wished first to confer with his wife, and the lords of his council §.” Women therefore were heard; who, as daughters of the Church, are ever the advocates of peace. We must observe then, on entering into this pacifical ideal of government, the manner in which the ancient emperors declared publicly, in their diplomas, that they granted privileges, through the intercession of their wives and mothers; for what can show more clearly that they ruled by love, and not by force? Thus Lothaire I. says in one, “because our beloved wife Hirmingard desires;” and in another, “at the entreaty of the Empress Hirmingard, our beloved wife ||.” Lewis II. similarly ascribes his acts to

* Dion. Carthus. de vita et regim. Princip. i. 14.

† Le Conseiller d’Etat. Paris, 1645.

‡ Id. 150.

§ De Ruf. Hist. de Marseille.

|| Heumann de Re Diplom. iii. 2.

the advice of his consort, "because our beloved wife Angilberga has suggested," and in another, "by the intervention of Angilberga, our most beloved wife *." The influence of Hirmentrude appears no less in the diplomas of Charles the Bald. "Because our sweetest wife Hirmentrude proposed;" and in another, "at the suggestion and prayer of our dearest wife;" and again, "at the salubrious exhortation of our beloved wife Hirmentrude †." Uda, wife of the Emperor Arnulph, is similarly commemorated in the diplomas of her husband: "by the intervention of our beloved wife Uda;" and elsewhere, "at the admonition and prayer of Uda our beloved wife ‡." Henry the Fowler speaks in like terms of his Matilda: "being asked by our wife, Queen Matilda;" and in another, "at the call of our beloved wife Matilda." The Othos, her sons in various diplomas, ascribe their acts to her intercession: "at the entreaty of the venerable and beloved Lady, our mother, Matilda;" and in another, "obedient to the power of our beloved mother, Queen Matilda;" and in another, "by the intervention of our grandmother, the most mild Matilda, and of our mother, Adelheid §." Otho I. proclaims the influence of his wife Editha, daughter of Edward, King of England: "by the intervention of our dear wife Editha;" and in another, "as our ears were assailed by our beloved wife Editha ||." The intervention also of Adelheid is frequently proclaimed in the diplomas of Otho I.: "if conformable to the pious solicitations of our beloved Adelheid, we ordain honours to the churches;" and in another, "by the advice and intercession of Adelheid, our beloved wife." Nineteen diplomas of this Emperor, with similar avowals, are cited by Heumann ¶, with eleven of the second Otho, declaring "that he acts by the advice of his Lady mother, the Empress Adelheid;" "because," he says in one, "our Lady mother the most serene Empress Adelheid, with maternal confidence, has boldly intervened with our filial majesty, entreating." Otho III. avows the same respect for her as his grandmother: "by the intervention of our beloved grandmother, the Empress

* Id. 66.

† Id. 80.

‡ Id. 100.

§ Id. 107.

|| Id. 109.

¶ p. 125.

Adelheid;" and in another, "for the love of God, and at the prayer of our beloved grandmother, the Empress Adelheid," &c.* The influence of Theophania, daughter of the Greek Emperor, is attested in many diplomas of her husband, Otho II. Thus the expressions "by the intervention of our beloved wife Theophania," and "following the suggestion of our beloved wife," occur in thirteen of his charters cited by Heumann, while it is no less visible in those of her son Otho III., twelve of which attest that he acts from the love of God, and at the request of his dearest mother Theophania†. The name of Cunegund is found similarly in the diplomas of her husband, Henry II. "by the intervention of our beloved wife, Cunegund;" and in another, "having consulted our dearest wife, Cunegund;" and "at the prayer of our most loving wife, who is our flesh;" and "on account of the devotion of our beloved wife;" which expressions occur in twenty-three charters cited in this work‡. Conrad II. declares in thirty-three diplomas, that he acts by the intervention and advice of his sweetest wife Gisela, who, as a mother, exerts a similar influence over Henry III., many of whose charters avow that they are given at her request§. Henry III. similarly declares, that he acts at the prayer of his first beloved wife, Cunechild, daughter of Canute, King of England; as also by the intervention of his second wife, Agnes, daughter of William, Count of Poitiers. "At the prayer of our beloved wife, Agnes," is the preamble to twenty-five diplomas of this Emperor, cited by Heumann||, whose influence extended even to Henry IV. her son, as is attested by twenty of his charters. Bertha, the first wife of the latter emperor, is named in fifteen diplomas, as "the beloved wife, by whose intervention they are granted¶." Henry V. avows in many charters here cited, that he acts by the intervention, and through the love of his dearest wife, Matilda, daughter of Henry, King of England**. Similarly, it is at the suggestion and prayer of his beloved wife, Richenza, that the Emperor Lothaire declares several diplomas to be granted: "for the love of God, and at the prayer of

* Id. p. 127.

† Id. 144, 5.

‡ Id. 157, 9.

§ Id. 165, 8.

|| Id. 183, 5.

¶ Id. 208, 9.

** Id. 213.

our dearest wife, Richenza," is the expression used on one occasion *. The intervention of Gertrude is repeatedly avowed in the diplomas of her husband, the Emperor Conrad III. : " following the instinct of our beloved wife, Gertrude," is the preamble to one of these †. Heumann remarks, that from the time of Frederic I. the names of the Empresses hardly ever appear in this manner; though he discovers instances in which the intervention of Beatrice, wife of Frederic I. and of Margaret, the wife of Lewis of Bavaria, are acknowledged in the ancient manner.

Again, parliaments were a pacific institution of the middle ages, which would supply a curious contrast with those of later times. Pasquier says that " as Louis le débonnaire was more inclined to console his people, than to perform great exploits and deeds of arms, he wished principally to maintain his grandeur by the solemn assemblies of parliament ‡." The fact however is, that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a demand for representation to parliament, or to the states general in France, was regarded as an attempt to involve individuals in vexation §. It followed from the object of all Catholic government, that no great importance was attached to any mere form of administration. " It matters not," says an historian of Genoa, " whether our city be ruled by consuls or by a podesta, or by a captain, or by abbots; for if it is best governed by consuls, then consuls are the best; if best by a podesta, then the podesta is best; if best by a captain or by abbots, then these are the best government. What we want is peace, and what we must avoid is discord ||." In fact, in 1190, the Genoese changed their form of government, by choosing a podesta instead of consuls; and this they did because, as many of the citizens were aspiring to be consuls, much envy and hatred arose in the city ¶. The truth is that the monarchical government prevailed throughout Christendom, in consequence of its being found most conducive to the peace of the world. The relative merits of all forms of rule are estimated by St.

* Id. 223, 4.

† Id. 232, 3.

‡ Recherches de la France, ii. 2.

§ Thierry, Lettres, xxv.

|| Jac. de Voragine, Chronic. Jan. pars v. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. ix.

¶ Id. Script. xii. c. 3.

Thomas, according to their greater or less fitness for maintaining peace * : and the establishment of the imperial election was itself the consequence of a pacific thought ; for the third Otho, having no heir, the others having obtained the empire by inheritance, he petitioned Pope Gregory V. to ordain electors throughout all Germany. Of those who thus drew their origin from the holy see, three were spiritual, the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne ; and four laical, the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the Marquis of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Saxony†. But whatever was the form, nothing so contrary to charity and peace as a systematic opposition or an organized disorder entered into the theory or practice of government in ages of faith, when men studied harmony in the structure of the universe, to copy it in their own works. If we might borrow such a phrase, there were no antispastic unions then. “One difference,” we read, “between a king and a tyrant is that the former seeks to make his subjects agree together for the public good, while the latter seeks to set them at discord, lest they should rise against himself ‡.” The least circumstance that could favour the maintenance of tranquillity was deemed important. “Do not execute what you have deliberated on by night,” says Cardan ; “but what you have determined by day, for that will please afterwards ; and those are the safest decisions which are approved of by a mind at peace §.” We see from these few glimpses, taken almost at random, what a contrast existed to later times, when senates were a scene of civil jar, a chaos of contrarieties. We, too, have counsellors for kings, and parliaments for the community ; but what fearful tempests in the heads and hearts of those who are now chosen to legislate, where the calmest in the storm are masters of their passions less to repress than to direct them ! What would Peter of Blois have said if admitted to their deliberations ? “One would have taken the members,” says a keen observer, “for maniacs in a cell, raging and unchained, rather than for legislators. Their eyes rolled fire mixed with blood. Breathless, they darted at the speakers looks of lightning.

* De Regimine Princip. lib. i. 2.

† Martin. Fuldens. Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.

‡ Dionys. c. de Vit. Princip. iii.1.

§ Prud. civ. 33.

They bounded on their seats ; exclamations, mixed with threats, burst from between their teeth. There was transport in their brain ; they stamped, they hurled in these fits of parliamentary excitement, while the spectators stood aghast. Around me were murmurs, sarcasms the most cutting, epithets the most revolting, cries inarticulate, groans, gnashing of teeth, and the howl of wild animals. The confusion was indescribable *.” Compare this with what we read of Catholic senators in ages of faith. What do the headstrong splenetic men deserve who now occupy their seats, for continuing to defeat the end of all their noble and pacific labours ? For sole punishment they should be condemned, on going out, to turn their eyes—for the force of nature is very great—upon portraits of a Suger or a Sir Thomas More.

The judicial office of Catholic monarchy must be noticed in proof of its pacific character. The legislative right of the people was granted to the king, as the jurisconsults, at the diet of Roncaglia in 1158, said to Frederic Barbarossa †. During the coronation of the Duke of Carinthia, three families have the right to cut down, burn, and pillage, to show that the moment of interregnum is the sleep of justice, and that the people must hastily obtain a defender ‡. If the visitation of men were peace, their rulers were to be justice §. The rigour of the punisher was the peace of the people ||. But woe to those who presided over men unless God presided over them ¶ ; “without whose grace neither has a prince honour, nor the people peace, neither religion rest, nor the Church liberty **.” Wipo, chaplain to the Emperor Henry III., shows him the duty of mingling law and mercy.

“ Est bona temperies, quam lex et gratia miscent ;
 Hæ si conjunctæ, generabunt pacis amorem.
 Peccatum pereat, peccator vivere discat.
 Qui se convertit, non est hic qui fuit olim ††.”

The sword itself, in the imperial insignia, denotes only justice ; for thus Godfrid of Viterbo says to Henry VI. :

* Timon, Etudes sur les Orateurs Parlementaires.

† Radevicus, ii. c. 4.

‡ Michelet, Origines du Droit.

§ Is. 60.

|| Gerv. Tilleber. Otia Imperialia.

¶ Petr. Bles. de Instit. Episc.

** Id. Compend. in Job.

†† Wiponis Paneg. ap. Canisii Lect. Ant. tom. iii.

“Judicii signum gladius monstrare videtur,
 Quo malefactorum feritas cessare jubetur;
 Nam si tardus erit, pax vacuata perit*.”

As for the sword of conquest, Peter of Blois, advising Henry II., says, “You will find among the Roman princes no shedder of blood whose blood was not in return shed; but those who used the sword only to justice paid the tribute of the human condition by a natural death †.” All texts of Scripture that seemed to contradict such views were interpreted in a pacific sense, as the words of the Prophet, “*Maledictus qui prohibet gladium suum à sanguine,*” which Peter of Blois understands as the word of exhortation from the mortification of sin †. The king, therefore, was the pacific judge, a title and office which French writers say their kings, above all others, desired for themselves, wishing to be represented always not combatting, but sitting on the throne of justice §: and in fact, as Bonald observes, according to the ancient and venerable spirit of the French constitution, justice was superior to force, and the magistracy was before the army. The nobility itself was rather judicial than warlike ||; for the glory of arms, in a Christian people, grew pale before that of intellectual and moral triumphs. The words of the French bishops in 858, to Lewis, brother of Charles the Bald, show what was then deemed the proper qualification for the office: “Constitute counts and magistrates who hate avarice and detest pride; who do not oppress or dishonour the peasants; who do not hold courts for sake of lucre; but in order that widows and orphans, and all the people, may have justice; and who study to recall litigators to concord rather than seek to derive any profit from their litigation; and who, if they cannot pacify them, will judge justly. Similarly, if you would be a Christian king, make counts like yourself; men fearing God, showing themselves benign and affable to their peasants ¶.” “A judge,” says Dionysius the Carthusian, instructing kings, “must beware of evincing impatience or any perturbation, for he ought to judge with a tranquil heart. He must not have com-

* Pantheon. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. vii.

† Epist. xlii.

‡ Epist. lxxvi.

§ Le Conseiller d'estat, Paris, 1645.

|| Legis. Prim. ii. 290.

¶ Ap. Baronius, 858.

passion on the poor to such a degree as to derogate from truth and equity in judgment*.” But it is Philippe de Beaumanoir, counsellor of Robert, Count of Clermont, son of St. Louis, whom especially we should hear in this place, to learn how pacific were all views of administration. “The great hope,” he says, “that we have in the aid of Him by whom all things are prospered, and without whom no good work could prosper—the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which are one God in trinity—has put into our heart and understanding the thought of finding a book by which those who desire to live in peace may be taught how to defend themselves from wrong, according to the custom of the county of Clermont, in Beauvaisis; the customs of which county, above all others, we are bound to discover, for this reason especially, that God commands us to love our neighbour as ourselves, and that we are of that county, all whose inhabitants therefore we must endeavour to benefit by our labours. We are of opinion that whoever would be a loyal bailiff ought to possess ten virtues, of which one ought to be lady and mistress of all the others, since without it the others could not be governed, and that is called sapience or wisdom. The second virtue is that the bailiff ought to love with all his heart God our Father and our Saviour, and for the love of God, holy Church, and not with the love which some serfs have for their seigneurs, who love only because they fear them; but with entire love, as a son should love his Father. ‘Car de lui amer et servir vient tout li bien.’ Nor has he sapience in him who above all things does not open his heart to the love of God, and much matter should we find for speaking on this head, but that it would lead us far from our subject; and besides, holy Church shows and teaches us it every day. The third virtue is that the bailiff should be sweet and débonnaire, without felony or cruelty; but not gentle to felons, lest he should place in peril of death those who wish to live in peace; but sweet to the good and to the common people. The fourth virtue is that he be ready to hear, and full of long suffering, and not quick to answer or to be angry. The fifth virtue is that he be brave and vigorous without indolence, for if he were a coward, he would not dare to make angry

* De Vita et Regim. Princip. iii. xi.

the rich man who would have to appear against the poor ; or he would not inflict death on those who deserved it through fear of their lineage. Therefore he must not be a coward, but brave and without fear ; that is, he ought to be wisely brave, for there is a foolish bravery, which belongs not to his office, but to the foolhardy. The sixth virtue is that he be generous, and liberal, and courteous, in order that he may be loved by God and the world ; for in the avaricious heart loyalty cannot have a lodging. The seventh virtue is that he obey the commandments of his seigneur in all that he commands with loyal justice : for the bailiff would not be excuseable before God if he were to do wrong to any one in order to obey his seigneur ; and the bailiff must rather leave the service of such a seigneur than do such evil ; for the sires are not worth serving who take more care to do their own pleasure than to maintain right and justice. The eighth virtue is that he be very knowing, so as to discern the good from the evil, and in all relations, above all to know who are the peaceable and who the troublesome ; that he may protect the one and restrain the other ; that he may terrify and constrain the troublesome, so that the peaceable may live in peace. The ninth virtue is that he be skilled with subtle intelligence to put to profit, without doing wrong to any one, the lands of his seigneur. The tenth virtue is the best of all the others, for without it the rest are nothing worth ; for it is that which enlightens all the others, and that is loyalty ; for whoever is loyal is wise to maintain loyalty ; for better is a man loyal and with little sense than him who is cunning without loyalty. Disloyalty, when it is lodged in the heart of a man who has much land to maintain, can sow much poison ; for all kinds of evils can come from it." In the conclusion of the whole work he speaks thus: "After we had thought much on this whole matter, it seemed to us that there is nothing which we ought so much to covet as firm peace ; for those who have firm peace established in their hearts are justly sires of the world and companions of God ; for the man is sire of the world in as much as he is in good thoughts, and has his heart in peace, so as not to covet wrongfully any earthly thing ; and he is companion of God in as much as he is in a state of grace and without sin ; for without these two no one can have his heart established in firm peace : for, if he be covetous

of earthly things in any malicious manner, his heart is at war and in tribulation instead of being in peace; and if he be not in a state of grace, but in mortal sin, then his own conscience makes war with him, for we do not believe that there can be any man so evil as not to have war in his heart if his conscience be troubled: therefore whoever would have firm peace ought above all things to love and prize God, and to despise earthly things; and then, though he should have assault of war, or any loss of friends and substance, if he love God and covet firm peace, he will suffer his tribulations with such good grace that they will little or not at all grieve him. Since, then, we have said that firm peace is the best thing, we pray Him who is the fountain of peace, that is to say, Jesus Christ, the son of St. Mary, his blessed mother, who draws from that fountain and dispenses peace to his friends, to deign to grant us peace in such manner as to conduce to the saving of our souls according to His power and mercy, which power can do all things, and which mercy is comparable to no other mercy. Amen *."

Peace, again, is indicated in that relation which existed in ages of faith between the temporal and spiritual power. "The kingdom and the priesthood were made one†." Religion and politics did not interfere with each other. There was harmony between them. There was between them a common fund of thoughts, sentiments, and designs. As St. Thomas observes, "The Emperors of Constantinople, from Constantine to Charlemagne, were obedient to the holy see, and full of reverence for its decisions; as were, professedly at least, the emperors who succeeded down to the third Otho, all whose intention seems to have been to favour faith and to honour the holy Roman Church‡." Under the Carlovingians, in every political mission, in every temporal affair requiring two persons, a bishop and a count were always united as the agents of government; never a count or bishop alone§. The bishops are exhorted to agree with the counts, and the counts with the bishops, in order that both may fulfil their respective ministry. Thus a capitulary of 789 says, "Let there be peace and concord be-

* Coustumes de Beauvoisis.

† Petr. Bles. Serm. lv.

‡ De Regim. Princ. iii. 17.

§ Fauriel, Hist. de la Gaule Merid. iv. 15.

tween bishops and abbots on the one side, and counts and judges on the other; for without peace nothing pleases God." This citation is continually occurring in the ordonnances of Charlemagne. The crosier, the sword, and the crook, were symbolical of one government; the sword of that which was to defend by temporal power the other two from the adversaries who against reason would disturb and molest them*. So at the coronation of the Emperor Otho in 1209, one of the questions addressed to him by Pope Innocent III., in St. Peter's Church, was whether he wished to live in peace with the Church; and upon his answering thrice in the affirmative, the pontiff replied, "So give I you the peace which our Lord gave to his disciples." The difficulty of this union shows what an influence had then the principle and love of peace. "Since the fall the world is Manichæan," says a French historian, "and always will it feel the struggle of the two principles. We wish not to believe that there is this duality, but we find it every where—nowhere more than in ourselves. What do you seek? Peace. Such has always been the object; but man is and ever will be double: according to the form of the middle ages, he will always have in himself the pope and the emperor." What is admirable, therefore, in the middle ages is the solicitude which was exercised to counteract this element of discord, and to preserve the two powers of the state in harmony.

Murmur as men will, by the law of nature, as St. Thomas shows†, it is the spiritual that must have precedence. "As the body is governed by the soul, so should the temporal power be subservient to the Church," says Ives de Chartres, addressing Henry I., King of England. "Knowing this, you should understand that you are not the lord, but the servant of the servants of God; not the possessor, but the protector. You ought to be one of the cedars of Libanus which the Lord hath planted, in which the sparrows build their nests; that is, under whose safeguard the poor of Christ converse and bring forth fruit in peace‡."

"O, wonderful power and infallible grace of the Saviour," exclaims St. Augustin, speaking of the Roman

* Jehan de Brie, *Le vray Régime des Bergers*.

† *De Reg. Prin.* iii. 10.

‡ *Io. Carnot. Epist.* cvi.

pontiff. "Who could believe that a plebeian fisherman should be Prince of the apostles, to resist kings, to sanctify kings, to command all kingdoms, to bridle the world by laws, to order the virtues, to open heaven to men when he wished, and to shut when it pleased him, to give an immortal kingdom to the converts, to deny it to the perverse, to take cognizance of the merits of the world *!" This was no usurped dominion, as our weak adversaries at present pretend. It was but the reconciliation of earth with heaven, the fruit of divine charity, as St. Leo observes, when addressing Rome, in the memorable words: "Less was that which warlike labour gained for you, with all your victories, than that which has been made yours by Christian peace:" and so far were the people from regarding it with suspicion, that Magna Charta was granted, according to the words of its preface, "for the exaltation of the Holy Church." At the head of the demands of the barons, who extorted it, was that the Church should have freedom and all her rights. Magna Charta, therefore, rested upon the great principle which the Protestant charters reverse and destroy. In the living societies of Catholic times, to secure the interest of one part was to conduce to the felicity of the whole; and instead of an artificial, disjointed state there was a natural and harmonious community. Kings themselves, if just, had nothing to reply when addressed by the Church in words like these of the Bishops of France in 858. "These things we say, not as exacting exaggerations against your domination, but as discharging the duty of our ministry. Truly, we ought, and we wish to believe you such, that you do not desire the augmentation of your kingdom to the detriment of your soul. There is no reasonable cause which should stimulate you against our petitions; for we are not men to move, and disseminate, and nourish quarrels, dissensions, or seditions, or wars, since the Lord hath chosen to ordain us preachers and followers of peace, whose office is to weep for our sins, and for the people committed to us, and to have war with vices and peace with the brethren. We truly desire and seek peace and quiet, not quarrels and wars; because, as the Apostle saith, our arms are not carnal, but spiritual,

* Serm. de Petro et Paulo.

our feet being shod in preparation of the Gospel of peace; and we militate, not for an earthly, but for a heavenly King, and for the safety of all the people committed to us; it being our office to hurt no one, to act unfaithfully towards no one, but to wish to render service to all men *."

Struggles undoubtedly there were, as we shall see in the concluding book; but all through the ages of faith kings might have been addressed by the clergy in the words of the Archbishop of Rouen to Henry III. of England. "The word of God is not bound in our mouth, but in the spirit of liberty we speak what gives salvation to souls, quiet to the people, freedom to the church, honour to God, and deliverance to the country †." The Manual of Warriors says, expressly, "The emperor cannot make war against the Church, and if he attempt it, his subjects are not bound to aid him ‡." Ratherius of Verona thus speaks to the Emperor Otho:—"Be not like those who embrace that foolish wisdom of the world, which our true pacific, beautiful above the sons of men, hath confounded, rather than the eternal and true wisdom: changing the vessels of Egypt, not into utensils for the tabernacle of the Lord, but using them as ornaments of the same Egypt, to serve the purposes of earthly altitude, representing that dragon, the pomp of the world, as triumphing, not hurled down by Michael. You introduce Scipio, Pompey, and Cato, rather than Peter, and Paul, and John—wars of the Emathean fields rather than the councils held by Christian doctors. Therefore, since they are of earth, while they abdicate celestial things, and speak only of the earth, let them fear, lest they be devoured by that ancient dragon; for thus He, who cannot lie, promised, 'Earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.' Cease to think that you can judge bishops: you can spoil, you can banish, you can imprison, you can deprive of sight, you can mutilate; yea, to your own prejudice, you can kill; but that name, that sceptre, that crown and purple, that benediction, that power of binding and loosing, that judgment, that principality, that angelic office, that apostleship, that pontificate, that kingdom, that pastoral office, lastly, what is

* Ap. Baronius, ad an. 858.

† Pet. Bles. Epist. xxxiii.

‡ L'Arbre des Batailles.

above all, that unction, you cannot, with all your force or authority, ever take away. But this is needless to say to you, whom I perceive to be most Christian, and remote from the madness of tyrannic power *." Assuredly, the world felt the influence of pacific hearts when this spiritual government had such power, defended as it was in reality, as to human means, only by the sentiment of duty, or what a French historian terms "the grand mystic poesy of its bulls," like that beginning 'Unam sanctam,' which electrified the twelfth century; when the spiritual sword derived an edge and irresistible force from such symbols as the dove and the ark, and the tunic without seam, each of which could protect the popedom. To the deepest recesses of their heart men felt the shock when there was the least infringement on its integrity, in which consisted the source of all true peace. Pope Leo IX., a German, owed his election to the emperor. On entering Rome to take possession, he heard, it is said, a voice of angels singing "Dicit Dominus, Ego cogito cogitationes pacis." He instantly recollected the influence which had raised him to the primal seat, and resigned, but then by the cardinals and people was re-elected †. In the calm majesty of the popedom kings themselves might have seen the only lasting basis of their own tranquillity, for, as Gerbert says of the Roman and Apostolic chair, "Quid deinceps stabilietur si id dissolvitur?"

Such, then, was the glorious republic of Christians till the monarchical absolutism, arising from unsound faith, commenced by Philip le bel, and completed by Louis XI., was established nearly in all kingdoms. Vengeance on the first, according to a general opinion, was not slow to follow. His eldest son kills his wife, his daughter her husband. "In less than thirteen years," say the Chronicles of St. Denis, "all his lineage was extinct ‡," while Toulouse still mourns for having given Nogaret his instrument to France. The Gallican party, which began with Guillaume de St. Amour, whose portrait, on the window of the Sorbonne, existed till the Revolution

* Præloquiorum lib. iii. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.

† Martini Fuldens. Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.

‡ Ad an. 1327.

sought to compose these dislocations, and to organize the disorder, yet the force of truth often prevailed to the restoration of harmony. "We have carefully avoided extending our power," says a King of France in 1717, "over what concerns doctrine, of which the deposit has been confided to another power *." So far we have seen the pacific form in all systems of Catholic government. It only remains to speak of its developement in the idea respecting a unity of empire, which was sought to be realized in the middle ages.

"I thought that the office designed for you was to destroy Rome," said a barbarian to Alaric on his leaving the eternal city, "but I perceive that it is to labour henceforth to preserve it." In fact, the barbarians thought to restore the ancient Roman empire, but they finally discovered that the true Rome then existing, was the humble pacific Rome. It was not merely genius, as in the instance of Brunehaud, that dictated such hopes. Men cherished them through the desire of peace. Let us hear Vincent of Beauvais. "The Roman empire," says he, "is erected by God over all men, as supreme arbiter in temporals; and other princes govern only by privilege granted by it; for if there were no one greater than all others by law, who could put an end to disputes? Then would follow many discords, robberies, slaughters, and wars, to the destruction of all peace: but if we live under one head, if we were all to follow one obedience, if we were to recognize one supreme prince in temporals, the consequence would be peace every where, and the sweetest concord, a manifest proof of which is that from the beginning of the world till this day, we read that there never was a universal peace, excepting when the eyes of the whole world were directed to one Cæsar Augustus, which was permitted to happen then on account of the reverence of Christ, our Redeemer, who assumed our human form; yet it ought to suffice that the Divine Creator of the world has shown how we might have peace, if all the world were under one prince. The privileges therefore of other kings ought not to avail against this power, nor ought a prince to tolerate things which tend to the subversion of the empire †." Unity,

* Declar. du 7 Oct. 1717.

† Specul. Historiale, liv. xxxi. in fin.

such was the aim from the beginning. In the second age St. Irenæus wrote against the Gnostics his book on the unity of the principle of the world—*De Monarchia*. Such is again the title of Dante's work, on the unity of the social world. A French historian adds, "that his book is extravagant, but that its formula is peace, as the condition of developement, peace under one sovereign *." "The Pope and the Emperor, wondrous system," he exclaims, "material force, the flesh, in the empire, in the church, the word, spirit: force every where, spirit at the centre, spirit having dominion over force; the son of the serf stronger than Frederic Barbarossa."

Dante, like Vincent, would have attached the organization of Christian Europe to the traditions of the ancient Roman empire, in the establishment of which he traced the designs of Providence, providing for the good of men. Peace is the great object, in his theory of government; which indeed explains all those axioms of the middle ages respecting the monarch being the minister of all †. These ideas of the temporal society entered even into his mystic visions, as when he saw the command to love justice written in characters of fire, till the letter M alone remained in a crown of glory, as the initial of monarchy, which was then superseded by an eagle, as an emblem of the holy Roman empire.

Our limits will not permit us to follow the history of these political views. Charlemagne, in dividing the empire between his three sons, assigned as his motive, the desire of preventing after his death quarrels respecting succession, and of maintaining a peace that was to last for ever. The object was laudable—but the means were inadequate. They were rather according to the old tradition of Germanic customs, than to the reasonable views of enlightened men at the time, who sought to establish peace. As Fauriel remarks, "the popes and an eminent portion of the clergy of Gaul, regarded this object as only to be attained by preserving the unity of the empire. When Louis le débonnaire in 833 saw himself opposed by his three sons on the Rhine, Pope Gregory IV. intervened with this view in favour of

* Michelet, *Hist. de France*, iii. 59.

† Dante *de Monarchia*, ii. St. Thom. i. 11. Q. 76. 4.

Lothaire*.” The most energetic and enlightened portion of the clergy entered into the opposition against Louis le débonnaire, with the same views as had dictated the constitution of 817, which he had reversed, in order to preserve the unity of the empire. “The struggle,” as Fauriel observes, “was in fact between two contrary ideas,—the Germanic in favour of the indefinite partition of the empire, and the Roman, tending to its unity. The bishops attached to Louis le débonnaire, who took umbrage at the interference of the Pope, were political men, less concerned about the church, than about the state, and who in regard to the state itself, had no project of a better order of things for the future†.” Fauriel doubts whether the sacerdotal portion of the adherents of Lothaire had any power to prevent the deposition of his father. If they did act, it was through weakness and compulsion. Yet at their deaths, the biographer of Louis le débonnaire says, “that the kingdom of the Franks deprived of them, lost nobility, valour, and wisdom.” The grief with which they beheld their hopes of a universal government expire, is feelingly expressed by the monk who wrote the life of Wala, “O that fatal day,” he exclaims, “which dissolved the union of the empire, and laid the seeds of civil war, whence all our calamities and sorrows flow! O that day, day of clouds and darkness! O execrable day which first heard that counsel! This is the hour of the wrath of God, the hour which summons us to retribution, in which the eyes of all men are opened with Balaam the soothsayer, when we all fall down, and the rod of the fury of God watches over us, and when all the justice of law is violated‡.” Nevertheless, neither the final dismemberment of the empire of the Franks under the second race, which required fifty years’ war, nor the division of the kingdom into two states under the first, ought to be imputed to the fault of the kings, since, as Thierry shows, both were the effect of causes which no power could resist: for Louis le débonnaire and his sons were impelled by the movement of two distinct races, which cherished the memory of independence§. It is remarkable that the Carlovingian Romances, like that of

* Hist. de la Gaule Mer. iv. 131.

† Lib. ii.

‡ Id. iv. 137.

§ Lettres, x.

Renaud de Montauban, were written under the auspices of the feudal lords, descendants of the chiefs, who at the end of the second race had broken to pieces the Carolingian monarchy, and that the spirit of their fathers had descended to them, so that the romances are directed against the unity of the monarchy, which their ancestors had destroyed, celebrating the rebellions of the Carolingian dukes and counts, and even depreciating Charlemagne himself *. For many ages, however, the world lived on two ideas of order and peace—the one never to perish, the holy Roman Pontificate, the other subject to contingencies, the holy Roman empire—two universal hierarchies, to secure harmony between kings and each other, and between kings and the people committed to them.

We ought not to close this chapter without taking into account with the pacific ideal of government, that of the subjects who were to be governed. Had Cicero known a Catholic community, he would not have said “that no animal is more morose than man, or more difficult to be ruled †.” In ages of faith, as in all others, the Lord sees iniquity and contradiction in the city, and stretches out his hands to the people, and says, “Father, forgive them;” but they who think iniquities in their heart, and who all day long constitute battles, were then less numerous or less able to disturb the peace of the Christian society. The Church could address men in the prophet’s words, and say, “*Dominator quem vos quæritis,*” without intending to perplex them. Therefore the fathers of the synod of Teudo, under Drogo, of Metz, in their address to the three imperial brothers, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, could say to them with confidence, “if you be reconciled to God, you may lay aside all fear of men; for He will fulfil in you, what He promised, saying, ‘*Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis, omnes inimicos ejus convertet ad pacem.*’” Accordingly it was in later times, that arose those politic maxims and that cumbersome luggage of war, argument of human weakness rather than of strength. The force of opinion was then the best rampart to cities, as when the Emperor Henry and his wife, Cunegund, were said to have surrounded the church

* Fauriel.

† De Fin. v.

and city of Bamberg with a silken thread, against the attacks of all enemies *. “ Instead of the ancient idea of the general will, that of duty and of truth became predominant in the middle ages,” says the biographer of Gerbert †. All guides of the people would then have said with Peter of Blois, “ may you have peace and holiness, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, for no form can be found more expressive of angelic conversation than social unity ‡.” The fathers of the council of Mayence under Raban Maur in 847, decree as follows: “ Truly it is necessary that there should be peace and concord, and unanimity, in the Christian people, because we have one Father in Heaven, and one mother, the Church, one faith, one baptism. Therefore in one peace and unanimity we ought concordantly to live, if we desire to attain to the one true inheritance of the celestial kingdom, for God is not the God of dissension, but of peace, as He himself says; and if among all the faithful, peace and concord are essential, according to the Apostle, who says, ‘ follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no one shall see God,’ much more ought bishops and counts to be at concord, each of whom should endeavour to assist the other in the discharge of his ministry. Since then peace and concord are to be esteemed the chief good among Christians, and as qualifying them for the title of sons of God, we ordain and confirm by the ecclesiastical authority, that all those who make conspiracies against the king, or the ecclesiastical dignities, or any legitimate powers of the republic in any order, are to be removed from the communion of Catholics loving true peace; and unless by penance and amendment they should be restored to ecclesiastical peace, are to be cut off from all society with the sons of peace §.”

It is clear from what we have seen throughout this history from the beginning, that elements of peace existed in the state, upon which governments could always reckon with confidence, and which undoubtedly were necessary to give efficiency to the principles on

* Heumann de Re. Dip. iii. 159.

† Hock Gerbert und sein jahr hundert 9.

‡ Epist. lxxvii.

§ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. ii. 337, 338.

which those governments were formed. Such was the fact noticed by Tertullian, and which still continued to have an immense influence, that a Christian is the enemy of no one, and certainly not of the Emperor, whom he knows to be constituted by God *." These were not the times when a king was unhappy or miserable: miserable if he wished to retain his crown, unhappy if he was unable. The streets of cities never during the worst moment of the middle ages, heard the cry, "we will not that God should reign over us, or a king who pretends to reign by the grace of God: we will have no other king but such as we choose to make ourselves." Men would not have revered as lovers of their country, guides like Milton, who believed, as Johnson says, "that man was made for rebellion;" nor would they have applauded or taken up arms after hearing such harangues as those of Heinsius, in which he says, "liberty wishes to be attacked; it wishes to be engaged with iron; it wishes to combat an enemy; it grows in arms; it is nourished not with milk, but with blood †." The total absence of all such Pagan thoughts constitutes one of these facts. So alien were they, that the historian of Brescia accounts for the divisions which distracted that city at the time he wrote, by saying, "that whoever deserts that light which illuminates every man coming into this world, can never attain to the way of rectitude ‡." "Consider in what straits you are placed," says Petrarch to one who was fomenting war in Italy, "when not one of the titles to which you aspire can be yours; for I deny that you can be even called an orator, since all who have written upon that art declare that he must be a good man, which you can never be while you are the adversary of peace, while your tongue is the root of the public misery; for if you had not spoken, inflaming minds with venomous words, Italy would not have mourned. Remember the command of Truth, love one another, love your enemies, follow peace and holiness, without which no one shall see God. Put on the love of peace, lest you be an alien to those men of good-will, to whom the angels announced peace §."

* Ad Scap. c. 2.

† Orat. xvii.

‡ Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiv.

§ Epist. x. 17.

Another of these facts was that of the existence of multitudes, whose life even by vow was private, unactive, calm, contemplative, little suspicious to any king, while all the weight of education tended to keep others from bristling up the crest of youth against the supreme authority. The maxims of government conveyed in the pastoral lessons of Jehan de Brie, suppose the pacific innocence of the people. “The lambs,” says the author, “being so young and tender, ought to be treated lovingly, and without violence; they ought not to be struck or injured in any manner*.” No nation would have boasted in ages of faith that it was the cave of Æolus, from which, at the wink of a minister, all the unsettled humours of the land, rash, inconsiderate, fiery hosts of voluntaries, with fierce dragons spleens would rush forth to make Christendom their prey, and gore the gentle bosom of its peace. “There have been commotions and riots in Paris, Rouen, Montpellier, Lyons, and other cities of France,” says an ancient historian; “but we must not impute such boilings over of humour to the magistrates, or to the noble citizens, any more than the seditions of the Israelites to holy Moses, but only to the dregs of the populace, which are like froth†.” “While citizens obey their prince,” says Dionysius the Carthusian, “they have a quiet heart and tranquil times, and can exercise their different offices in security; so that, unless where he commands things contrary to the law of God, it is a great folly in them not to obey him‡.” The tranquillity of order, which was the result of peace, was known to be the right disposition of equals and unequals§. Degree was not therefore a source of discontent, and as for calamitous times when evil men reigned, the people knew, as Albert the Great remarks, “that God permits such afflictions for the punishment of men’s sins, and for the exercise of the good in patience: therefore in all times, subjects endeavoured to have peace with their princes.” “Time commands princes, wait then for time,” was the precept of

* Le Vray Régime des Bergers, chap. iv.

† Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, iii. 17.

‡ De Vit. et Reg. Princip. iii. 22.

§ Hugonis Floriacensis Tract. de Regia Potestate, i. 4. ap. Baluze, Miscel. ii.

Cardan to his sons*. The old question of Gall, as stated by Tacitus, "*Libertas an pax placeret*," without therefore being solved in the sense of Grotius†, who decides absolutely for the latter, on ground that would not have satisfied St. Thomas, involved no men personally in a dilemma. Even on their tombs we find proclaimed the love of that obedience, which in the end is the best safeguard of liberty, which St. Isidore says is peace. In the convent of the great Augustins, at Paris, on the sepulchre of Gui du Faur, Seigneur de Pibrac, President of the Parliament, were read these lines :

" Il est permis souhaiter un bon Prince ;
Mais tel qu'il est, il le convient porter."

A sentence ratified in advance by Cicero himself, who deems any peace more useful than civil war ‡. The provisions made for preserving peace in the event of a great and manifest utility, suggesting to the community the expediency of a change of ancient laws, are worthy of being observed, though I cannot stop to enumerate them§. The general conviction then was, "that all zeal for a reform that gives offence to peace and charity, is mere pretence." Lupus, writing to Charles the Bald, says, "not to flatter you, but through regard for the safety of your subjects, I declare that if they observe not their oaths to you, they will bring death on their souls; nor can they be the sons of God who are unwilling to be pacific||." "Let us cease to act perversely," he says elsewhere, "and learn to do well. Let us cease from seeking carnal, and sometimes think of gaining spiritual things, and that cupidity may be tempered and moderated, let us call to mind the quick transit of those whom we have seen in dignities, nor forget that we are following them. Let us recover the manners by which this kingdom grew and flourished. Let there be no factions, no conspiracies among us, who invoke a common Father, to whom priests so often say, 'Pax vobis,' for whom all priests cordially pray, 'Da

* Præcept. ad Filios, libel. 2.

† De Jure Belli, &c. ii. 24.

‡ Phil. ii.

§ Dion. Carthus. de Vit. et Reg. Princip. iii. 18.

|| Epist. xcvi.

propitius pacem in diebus nostris,' and to whom it is said, 'Beati pacifici.' Let us not think lightly of the woe pronounced upon those who cause scandals. Let us through fear of God, and regard to our own interest, endeavour unanimously to procure the public good, that we may obtain tranquillity for the faithful, and procure from the Almighty that two-fold peace, such as can be found at present, and such as will be given to the elect hereafter*." Marsilius Ficinus, in few words, sums up the Catholic doctrine on this subject, "we know from infinite good," he says, "that all things turn to good to the just; and we have learned from Paul, the herald of Christ, to obey princes †."

Nor was any undue advantage taken of these dispositions according to the pacific ideal of government, predominant in ages of faith, though modern English writers choose to affirm that "king, priest, and soldier harshly associated every base and degrading idea with the very name of the people ‡." Persons who are conversant with the writings of the middle ages, need not be told that the good of the people as being that of the community, was proclaimed the end of all just government. Slavery was not considered peace, but rather its direct foe, as placing the governed, and those who govern, in a false position. The angel of the school, in his admirable treatise on government, in denouncing tyranny, evinces the most noble regard for freedom §, and expressly teaches that the consequence of tyranny is to render men servile and pusillanimous. He shows that, in a just monarchy, the occasion of tyranny must be taken away, and at the same time, that the power of the king must be so tempered, that he may not be able to tyrannize. He says, that "if the contract be not observed by the king, the people have a right to obtain redress by judicial means ||." Donatus Barbadorus, the jurisconsult and ambassador of Florence, went farther, for in presence of the Pope he said, "there can be no cause of war more just than the defence of the liberty of one's country, in which are comprised houses, children, wives,

* Epist. c.

† Epist. lib. iii.

‡ Palgrave, Truths and Fictions of the Mid. Age.

§ De Regim. Princip. lib. i. 3.

|| Id. lib. i. c. 6.

and fortune, and churches, and all divine and human things*.” But the church sought and laboured with a ceaseless solicitude to prevent the possibility of such a collision; and hence all those measures in the exercise of her recognized right, which modern writers have so foolishly condemned. The strongest sympathies of St. Bonaventura, as those of Dante, who spoke the real sentiment of ages of faith, are on the side of the people: for the powerful, who seek a separate interest from that of the community, they have only words of severe admonition or words of terror†. “If you ask,” says the author of the *Tree of Battles*, “what is the difference between a prince and a tyrant, John Andrieu will tell you in a gloze, saying, ‘that he who is a true prince, always labours for the utility of the poor commons, and for the good of the country, whereas a tyrant only thinks of filling his purse, and so he succeeds he cares not how.’” One need only read the letters and discourses of the Franciscan, Antonio de Guevara, preacher of the Emperor Charles V., to see with what discretion and justice such men laboured to promote the happiness of the state, and to prevent every abuse which might afflict the people. “In all ages, in the most difficult times,” says Thierry, “there have been men in France to defend justice and liberty, and in regard to the last, our forefathers have surmounted more obstacles than we shall ever meet with‡;” truly a remarkable admission. The middle ages in fact witnessed the liberty of the subject, while later times have beheld the slavery of the independent.

In the division of the kingdom of Lothaire by his brothers, Charles and Louis, Nithard relates that it was made less according to material equality than to the greater or less degrees of affinity and fitness between the populations. Unhappily, it cannot be a question, whether, on an occasion analogous, the people would be treated with equal consideration at the present day. Kings were told in the middle ages that they would have to answer for the rebellion of their subjects, unless

* Poggii Bracciol. *Hist. Florent.* lib. ii. ap. Mur. *Rex. It.* Script. xx.

† Ozanam, *La Philosophie de Dante*, 172.

‡ *Litt. sur l'Hist. de France*, i.

they had made every effort to conciliate their love. "As a prince," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "must endeavour to surpass other men in virtues, so must he strive with all his force that his people may have peace with him ; and though the people should prove themselves unworthy, yet he, for the love of God, and through zeal for the divine honour, ought to do all things for their common utility, lest God should be dishonoured by the rebellion and discord of his people. Moreover, as he ought to love them with a spiritual love, he should strive to secure for them the peace which is so necessary for their salvation ; and to remove all occasion that could induce them to murmur and disobey. A sense of justice, too, should make him labour by every possible means to obtain for them concord ; for that is the end of his authority. Above all, the remembrance of the final judgment of God should make him spare no effort to gain them peace ; for, as he will have to give an account for all their sins arising from his negligence, terrible will be his sentence if, perchance, by his indiscretion or fault there should be given any occasion to the people for rebellion and discord. Therefore, to avoid eternal punishment, he must provide for peace between himself and his people, and not be ready to excuse himself easily *."

The celebrated treaty of Constance, between the Emperor Frederic I. and Henry VI., his son, and the confederate states of Lombardy in 1183, begins, after the usual invocation, with these words : "The mild serenity of the imperial clemency is accustomed always to show that grace and favour to its subjects, that, although it ought and could correct offences with strict severity, yet it studies rather with the propitious tranquillity of peace and the pious affections of mercy, to rule the Roman empire, and recall the insolence of rebels to their due fidelity †." These were the results which the ecclesiastical voice was ever raised to procure. Antonio de Guevara the Franciscan, writing to certain rebels who disturbed Spain in the time of Charles V., says, "When I was at Villabrassima, in your presence, I preached nothing to you but penance ; and when I was at Rio

* De Vit. et Regim. Princip. iii. 26.

† Ap. Murat. Antiq. It. Diss. xlviii.

Seco I preached nothing to the governors but clemency and mercy." It would be impossible to describe in more exact terms the action of the clergy in regard to subjects and to kings.

Such, then, was the influence of pacific hearts upon the views respecting government which prevailed in ages of faith. The Church uttered no voice clearer, and promised nothing greater: for self-devotion and obedience from a sense of duty, as the key-stone of all her institutions, was her universal principle, and what she promised, as the consequence, was peace. Some will here object that the promise was not fulfilled. Strictly, perhaps not; but the Roman philosopher observes that things are named always after their greater part, even if there be a deficiency; so that if the Catholic state were disordered in part, yet, from its greater part of harmony, must it deservedly be named pacific. Besides, granting that the promise was not fully realized, still, to use the words of the same philosopher, "I count this itself a great thing, that there was such a promise." Truly, it was not always realized. There is often an afflicting contrast between the sublime ideal and the powerless, desolating reality. But how can we require perfect order in the political when the moral world is so troubled? peace in the state, when there are combats in each man's breast? "Here," says St. Augustin, "we have peace only in hope; for, as yet, what peace is within us? Where is there perfect peace in one man? But when there will be perfect peace in one man, then there will be perfect peace in all the citizens of Jerusalem*." Probably, too, some princes defended and established peace, moved, at least at first, by mere human motives; but on these we have the authority of St. Augustin for looking with milder eyes than those of censure. "This state," says he, "which is called Babylon, has its lovers consulting for temporal peace, and hoping for nothing beyond it, and fixing all their joy there, and terminating it there; and we see them labouring much for the earthly republic. But yet if men faithfully employ themselves in it, if they do not seek their pride, and perishable honour, and indolent vanity, but exercise a true faith as much as they can, and as

* In Ps. cxlvii.

long as they can, and to whomever they can, God does not suffer them to perish in Babylon, God understands their captivity, and shows to them another city, for which they ought truly to sigh, for which they ought to endeavour all things, to the attainment of which they ought to exhort, as far as they are able, their fellow-citizens and strangers. ‘O Sancta Sion! ubi totum stat et nihil fluit *.’” “What is this world,” cries Peter of Blois, “but misery and a flying shadow? Let pass then, as they are temporal, the kingdoms of this world, and let us hasten, with all the intention of our mind, to that rest which no grief disturbs: let us ascend, by the degrees of charity, to that city, in which God alone reigns King for evermore †.”

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT the pacific ideal of government led to no practical results is a conclusion, however, to which a study of the historical sources of the ages of faith will never lead. Not without visible effect had the world heard those joyful anthems of the church, “Rex pacificus magnificatus est; cujus vultum desiderat universa terra;” and “Magnificatus est rex pacificus super omnes reges universæ terræ.” Here was, indeed, a prodigious change on earth. In his letter to the Roman senate, Trajan, enumerating the evils of a ruler, observes that if a king be pacific he is regarded as a coward. Very different was the consequence, in the middle ages, of resembling the great prototype of Christian rulers, the mysteries of whose nativity, as the Church desires, infused peace into men. One may conceive what was the revolution of opinion respecting the glory of a monarch’s reign from the expression of an old chronicler, who, speaking of Charlemagne, says, “Cujus vita gloriosa et mitissima †.” Meekness was glory.

* Id. Tractat. in Ps. cxxxvi.

† Epist. xxxv.

‡ Chronic. Monast. Mellicensis, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Austriac. tom. i.

The writers of the middle ages were not like Tyrtæus the poet, who reserved all his praises for those who were of illustrious fame in war *. The object of their highest admiration and warmest sympathy was often what Homer terms *φυγοπτόλεμος*, a war-flier †: one who shed tears, not blood; not an Homeric shepherd of the people, who longed to wear a garment all of blood,

Θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν, ἐναίροντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν,

but pastors of the Christian type, of cheerful semblance and sweet majesty, whose desire is expressed on so many of the ancient coins, on which we read, Pax æterna; Pax augusta; Pax orbis terrarum; Pax perpetua et libertas; whose ambition was to be styled, as many were, Fundatores pacis, and Paciferi ‡; and whose reigns were not the less glorious, even if viewed with the eyes of old philosophy; for Pindar, who is its voice, declares that in happiness, which alone they wished for their people, consists the summit of glory §. The ages of faith have but one voice to magnify the rulers who loved peace. With what praise does Alfonso of Carthagera speak of the pacific kings of Spain—Sigeric, Enricus, Recared, Suintila II., Tulgas, Recensuindus, Wamba, Egica, Silo, Veremundus, Alphonso II., Garsias, son of Alphonso III., Froila II., Alphonso IV., Ordonius III., Sancius I., Ranimirus III., Santius the elder, Sancius III., called the Desired, Alphonso IX.; all of whom, he says, are painted wearing a pacific robe, because, though some reigned very long, they had no wars ||. Truly, the number of such kings was great, if we survey the whole of our history. “War,” said the King Don Alonzo, “is a thing which should never be undertaken without a long, previous examination as to the justice of the grounds.” Don Savedra cites another king of Spain, who was so anxious to justify an expedition which he had undertaken, that even after having had in his favour the opinion of many theologians and jurisconsults, and after his army had arrived at the very scene where the action was to com-

* Plato de Legibus, i.

† Od. xiv. 213.

‡ Pignovius, ap. Muratori, tom. x. p. 328.

§ Nem. Od. i.

|| Alph. Carthag. Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis.

mence, he stopped, in order to return, and again consult with them *.

Some writers say that it was in order not to kindle a civil war that Wamba abdicated the crown in favour of the traitor Ervig, and retired into a convent. Let us turn to France. There, amongst the Merovingian kings, we ought not to look for the pacific type ; and yet they are not without its traces.

Of Clotaire II. the Chronicles of St. Denis say, " He was a man of great patience, full of the fear of our Lord †." Nantilde, widow of Dagobert I., would not defend with rivers of blood the avenues to the throne, to which her son was called. Of Clovis II. we read, " This king governed peaceably, without war or battle, all the days of his life ‡." Charles Martel himself is praised for having left France in great peace and prosperity §. " In all lands hath gone the sound of the piety and goodness of Robert, the most sweet and religious king of the Franks," says his biographer. And, describing his countenance, he says that his sweet lips seemed formed for giving the kiss of holy peace ||.

Charlemagne, commending his empire to the prayers of religious communities, says that it may delight you to pray assiduously for the stability of our kingdom, and for the quiet of our people ¶. The address of the patriarch, John of Jerusalem, so solemnly sent to Charlemagne, and that also of Constantine, make mention of his love of peace. " You love peace from your heart," says the former ; " and when you find it you preserve it in supreme charity." And the latter said, " You are a defender of peace, and seek it with great desire, and keep it in great love **." To the pacific disposition of his son and successor, Louis, we have many testimonies. That of Agobard is remarkable, who says to him, " I have presumed to remind you of these words of Pope Gregory, that, as no one doubts that you are ineffably more a lover of the celestial than of the earthly kingdom ; and as, according to your faith, you can by no

* Christian Prince, ii. 325.

† Liv. v. 8.

‡ Id. v. 22.

§ Id. v. 27.

|| Helgaldi Vit. Rob. ap. Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. iv.

¶ Ap. Heumann. de Re Dipl. i. 115.

** Les Chroniques de St. Denis, liv. iii. 4.

other work so much please God as by solicitude in the maintenance of peace and unity, you may labour to make every faithful soul advance in faith and in the knowledge of God *.” “This emperor,” say the Chronicles of St. Denis, “always loved peace and concord, and not alone with his sons, but with strangers also, and even with his enemies, who had at times sworn his death †.” “When he thought that danger was at hand, he feared not for himself, but for the state of the holy Church which he had to protect ‡.” “Cruel affliction it was for him to be obliged to take up arms in 840 at the beginning of Lent, a season which he was accustomed to spend in matins, and fasts, and prayers, and almsgiving; but now he would not give himself a single day’s rest through the desire which he had to obtain peace and concord for the holy church §.” “Louis le débonnaire left nothing undone,” says Heumann, “to preserve concord at home and abroad, to cause justice to be maintained, and the fury of hostile invasions averted ||.” In his precepts to his sons, on dividing the kingdom between them, he makes the most minute and judicious provisions with a view to prevent, if possible, the least occasion of discord from arising. “If there should be any controversy concerning boundaries, which testimonies cannot remove,” he says, “let the will of God be sought by the judgment of the Cross, but let not for such a cause any battle of any kind take place ¶.” In his imperial epistle to the people of God generally he ascribes the famine and pestilence of the time to the sins of those who disturbed peace: “nor do we doubt, he says, “that these things are sent as a divine punishment, in consequence of the scandals which arise in this kingdom from tyrants who endeavour to destroy the peace of the Christian people, and the unity of the empire **.” In the midst of these civil discords he felt his last hour arrived. “Who could relate the care which he had for the holy Church, the joy he felt when he saw it in good estate, and the grief and compassion of his heart when it was in tribulation? Who could num-

* De Comparatione utriusque regiminis.

† Id. i. c. 21.

‡ Id. 22.

§ Id. 23.

|| De Re Diplom. i. 216.

¶ Ap. Duchesne, *Annal. Franc.* ii. 331.

** Id. i. 453.

ber the tears he shed in praying our Lord to comfort it ? He did not mourn because he was about to pass from this life, but on account of the tribulations which he perceived would ensue after his death. “ Alas ! ” he cried, “ why does my life finish in such sorrow, and such persecution of peace and concord * ? ”

Among the princes who contended for the divided empire, Lewis, King of Germany, who died at Frankfort in 876, is praised by the Saxon annalist as a most Catholic prince, and ardent executor of the things which are of justice and peace. Hearing that Charles was about to break the treaty, he sent ambassadors telling him “ to be mindful of Jesus Christ, that he should spare the sword, and shudder at the dire cupidity to shed human blood.” Even in these deplorable contests the voice of peace is heard. At the meeting of the three royal brothers at Coblentz, Charles said aloud in the Romance tongue, “ The men who have acted, as you know, against me, I forgive on account of God and for his love ; and I give them their property, if they will engage to be pacific in my kingdom, and so to live as Christians in a Christian kingdom ought to live †.” One article of the convention in 878 is to this effect, “ if any whisperers and detractors envying our peace and hostile to the peace of our kingdom, should wish to sow quarrels between us, neither of us will receive him, and all our faithful will reject him as a liar, and sower of discord between brethren ‡.” Lewis Balbus, who governed Burgundy, is called a mild prince and a lover of peace, and Carloman, King of Bavaria, is termed “ just and pacific §.” In the annals of Metz, Carolomann is described as “ a learned king, devoted to the Christian religion, just and pacific ||.” Charles the Bald says in a public act, “ during the conflict with my brothers, I came to the village of Magniacum, where the body of the holy confessor Vincent is enshrined, and there, adoring God, I prayed that by his suffrages, I might obtain divine protection, and be restored to tranquil prosperity ¶.” “ To us and to our brothers it seems fit,”

* Chroniques de St. Denis, i. 23.

† Id. ii. 356.

‡ Id. ii. 378.

§ Annal. Saxo ap. Eccardii Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi.

|| Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. ii. 287. ¶ Ap. id. i. 361.

says Lothaire, "to seek the will of God, in order to learn how the holy Church can be restored, and how we and you, and the Christian people, may have peace*." Turning to England, we find King Edgar, who reigned in the tenth century, and who was such a friend to the Benedictines, that he boasted having founded or restored fifty houses of the order, obtaining the epithet of the Peaceful. The church commemorates the saying of King Edward the Confessor, who knew not how to be angry, that he would rather want a kingdom which could not be obtained without slaughter. Even in the conqueror's own family, the pacific man was found, for if Robert de Courte-heuse wished to be of all birds a hawk, and Guillaume-le-Roux an eagle, Henry, the youngest brother, wished to be a starling, because it is a simple bird that injures nothing, and flies in concert with others of its kind, and if imprisoned in a cage consoles itself by song. Peter of Blois, perhaps in hopes of reminding him of his obligation, terms Henry II. "our pacific king†." But the truth is that our Norman and English kings have not in general been glorious, as imitating the pacific type. Henry I., Henry III., Henry VI., Richard II., though wanting energy, and Henry VII. deserve commemoration, but the rest, as if to foreshow the dismal warfare which awaited us, breathed discord as their native element, and monitors were not wanting to intimate to them, that Satan was in their court, as if with a privileged right of entry‡.

Let us then look elsewhere: King Louis, father of the saint, loved peace, so that it was thought he was alluded to in the prophecy of Merlin, under the epithet of the pacific lion§. St. Louis, who so pacifically extended his power, by an act of noble disinterestedness, put an end to the wars which had recommenced with the kings of England. When he knew of any high prince who had anger or ill-will against him, which he did not dare to shew openly, he drew him to peace charitably with gentleness, and thus converted his enemies into friends||. In his last advice to his son Philip, he said to him,

* Ap. id. ii. 330.

† Epist. lxi.

‡ Pet. Bles. Com. in Job.

§ Chroniques de St. Denis ad an. 1226.

|| Ibid.

“you ought to use all your strength to cause your people to live in peace. Beware of exciting war with any Christian man : whoever seeks pardon should obtain it*.” The cry of the people of Paris when they heard of his being in danger of death was this, “ why take from us the king who preserves us in peace † ? ” Indeed kings who had such wishes were not singular in France. Suger says that “ the great protector of the people’s peace, Louis le gros, was so gentle and benign, that when a boy, some regarded him as simple ‡ : ” he says that this king was sweet, and beyond human thought, mild §. When he came in his last sickness to St. Denis, vast crowds of people followed him, and numbers left the towns and castles, and their ploughs in the fields, and wept tenderly through the love they bore him, because of the peace which they had enjoyed by his protection ||. In 1190, on the coronation of Richard, King of England, Philip Augustus, for the good of peace, gave to him the cities of Tours and Mans, with Chastel Raoul, and all that he had conquered from King Henry, his father ¶. When the Viscount de Thouars besought Philip to pardon his treason, and sent messengers on the king’s arrival at the castle of Loudun, “ the King,” says the Chronicle of St. Denis, “ who, according to his custom, preferred much to conquer his enemies by peace rather than by battle, received the viscount to amity**.” “ He had the fear of our Lord fixed in his heart,” say the Chronicles. But let us turn to the Germans. Speaking of the Emperor St. Henry, a contemporary writer says, “ as Moses triumphed by prayer more than by arms, so the most glorious Prince Henry finished all wars by the arms of justice, and without bloodshed always triumphed. Thus did he subdue the Burgundians. This was a divine and not a human victory, for when the army was drawn up and prepared for battle, laying down their arms, not through the fear of man, but by the impulse of God, asking for the things which are of peace, the soldiers gave their

* Id. 1270.

† Ad an. 1244.

‡ Vit. Lud. vi. ap. Duchesne, iv.

§ Id. 20.

|| Chroniques de St. Denis, 1137.

¶ Id. ad an. 1190.

** Id. ad an. 1214.

right hands *.” “In 1313,” says another writer, “the Emperor Henry died at Florence, a man praise-worthy in every respect, pacific, and communicating every Sunday †.” The Emperor Henry I., father of Otho the Great, we read, “though glorious in conquering enemies,” which is an allusion to his defending Germany from the Slavonians, Huns, and other Pagans who ravaged it, “yet being pacific, took no pains to receive the imperial crown and benediction, but suffered himself to be prevented by the tyrants who in succession disturbed Italy ‡.” Otho the Great, who in some manner reestablished the empire of Charlemagne, was another eminent lover of peace, and the pacificator of Italy §. “Unless you had embraced the gravity of moral philosophy,” says the celebrated Gerbert, writing to him, “your words would not have been so impressed with humility, which is the guardian of all virtues.” His death was worthy of his life. After celebrating the ascension in Merseburg, he came on the Tuesday after Pentecost to Nunnæmia, and the next evening sat down cheerfully to table. Afterwards he proceeded to assist at the office of Vespers. At the end of the Magnificat he felt weak. The princes who stood round him perceiving it, led him to a seat, and tried by friction to warm his head, which sunk on his breast. Then receiving the communion, he without a groan, in great tranquillity rendered up his spirit ||. Otho II. on arriving in Italy, used great efforts to remove the disturbers of peace ¶, and Otho III. is designated as a son of peace, “ein sohn des vredes **.” He as his father and grandfather favouring the church in Italy, Germany, and Belgic Gaul, governed the empire,

* Vita S. Hen, Imp. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.

† Erphurdianus Antiq. Variloq. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ.

‡ Hermanni Corneri Chronicon ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, ii.

§ Murat. Antiq. diss. vi. 11.

|| Herman. Corneri Chronic.

¶ Id.

** Stadtwegii Chronic. ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsvicensia illustrant. iii.

says another Chronicle, “ strenuously and pacifically *.” Continuing to turn over the ancient historians, we read that Rodolph, of Habsburg, reigned with much peace, and that the Emperor Lewis, of Bavaria, a pacific man, during all the time of his reign, governed the empire pacifically and solemnly, “ pacifice ac solempniter †.” The Emperor Henry III. is termed “ a pious pacific king, and a mirror of justice ‡;” and Lewis IV. is described by a contemporary author, as being from his childhood, “ meek and pacific §.” Speaking of the pardon of certain conspirators, Nicolas Lanckmann, of Valckenstein, in his narrative of the espousals and coronation of the Emperor Frederic III. says, “ the serene Lord Emperor as a pacific king imitated the meekness of David ||.” Of this emperor, another old writer says, “ there are many things in this Cæsar which can be praised ; such as the sedate and tranquil tenor of his mind, and his immense desire of peace and leisure ¶.” “ The Emperor Sigismond,” we read, “ laboured all his life to promote the union of the Church, and the peace and concord of Christian princes **.” Even emperors of evil renown were obliged in their public acts to conciliate the public opinion by using the language of peace ; as when Henry VII. to the ambassadors of Pisa, who expressed hopes that a time would come of vengeance, on the despisers of the empire, replied, “ that his wish was to contribute, as far as he could, to cause all Christians to live at peace †† ;” and as when the Emperor Frederic, instructing his son Conrad in the regal duties, said “ be pacific and true, that Mercy and Truth meeting, Justice and Peace may embrace

* Martini Fuldensis Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i. † Id.

‡ Chronic. Austriacum, 1040. ap. Pez. i.

§ Anon. Chronic. Lud. iv. Imp. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

|| Hist. Desponsat. Fred. ap. Pez. tom. ii.

¶ Viti Arenpeckii Chronic. Austriac. ap. Pez. i.

** Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. v.

†† Albertini Mussati Historia Augusta, lib. v. 5. ap. Muratori, Rer. It. Script. x.

in your kingdom *.” Lower in the scale of power we find in abundance the true pacific. After describing the peace enjoyed under Gaufrey, the Count of Poitiers, a contemporary writer deplores the calamities which followed his death, which took place in 586, at the castle of Chisegius. “Woe to us who have sinned,” he exclaims, “who did not deserve to have any longer such a prince! O daughters of Jerusalem! O daughters of peace! O churches of Aquitaine, weep for Gaufrey, who gave you such abundance of peace! O ye sons of the churches of Aquitaine, weep for him by whose industry you were enabled to pass your time in quietness and charity, by whose desire of love and peace you were filled with the delights of wisdom, and made to enjoy the fruits of learning; and above all, you, O monastic flock of this monastery, weep, because you have lost him who filled you with all good; but weep not so as to make it appear that you had placed your hope in him, for it is written, ‘*Maledictus homo qui spem suam ponit in homine et carnem brachium suum;*’ but so weep as if you mourned that peace should have perished by his death, and as if you would never, as is most just, forget his soul. His body was brought to the monastery with great lamentation of all the people, and buried in the chapter, but in the year following, it was removed into the church, and placed in a tomb before the high altar. The monastery remained unfinished, for he had intended to have built two towers in front of the church, and he had already begun to build the third over the choir. Every day a mass is sung for him. In all the hours between the Psalms, the *De profundis* is said for him, his anniversary is celebrated with all the solemnity of a chief festival, for on the Vigil after Vespers, we sing the *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with the lessons and responses for the dead, and the next day a solemn mass is sung, and we all offer †.” What sons of peace were Count Gerald as described by St. Odo, the Abbot of Cluny ‡, and that Thibaud II., Count of Champagne, the intimate

* *Chronic. Siciliæ* 24, ap. id. x.

† *Frag. Historiæ Monast. Pictavens.* ap. Martene, *Thesaur. Anecd.* iii.

‡ *Bibliothec. Clun.*

friend of St. Bernard, the Protector of Abeillard, the advocate of all good monks, whose cause he always made his own, seeking to appease their enemies, and that Raoul de Nesle, styled the good Count of Soissons, who had such a reputation that it extended to Rome; so that in 1216, Honorius II. wrote to him, saying, that "he was to give example as a light on a candlestick." Stephen, Count of Blois, renowned for his exploits in the Holy Land, obtained the title of the Wise and the Pacific*. Garsius Sanctius, Duke of Arragon, was surnamed the Trembler, because though an intrepid hero in battle against the Moors, yet whenever he foresaw future wars he used to tremble, which did not prevent him from winning immortal glory, during the twenty-eight years of his reign†. Amedée VIII. the first Duke of Savoy, created by the Emperor Sigismund in 1416, passed all his life in reconciling princes who were at war with each other, making peace either in Italy or in France, torn by bloody discords, and finally becoming the pacificator of the Church, and restoring the peace of the spiritual society. Of the mighty Dukes of Tuscany and Spoleto, Donizo the Benedictine says,

"Pacis amatores, fortes sunt atque leones;
Hi pacem veram cum prosperitate tenebant;
Fortes, et grandes velut essent quippe gigantes ‡."

Hugo the pacific Duke of Burgundy discerned the true source of temporal peace, for, in founding the canonical church of St. Mary and St. John at Dijon, he prescribed that all future dukes should signalize their elevation to that dignity by repairing thither and saluting the canons, in order that, beginning by such a holy and pious work, all other actions might succeed prosperously with the Lord for their Author, and that they should guard that church as a resting-place for their souls; so that, as other places are preserved for the sake of the body, this should be for the sake of their mind §.

* Bernier, Hist. de Blois.

† Lucii Marinei Siculi de reb. Hispaniæ, lib. viii.

‡ Vit. Matildis, lib. i. c. 6. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. v.

§ Innocent III. Epist. lib. xiv. 163.

Wibald, Abbot of Corby, had written to Henry, Count of Salmes, in 1153, to complain of the multiplied rapines committed by the Count's men against the men of the monastery of Stavelo, and the reply of that nobleman shows how worthy he was of ranking among the pacific. "Henry, Count of Salmes, to Wibald the Abbot. 'Quidquid amicus amico.' I rejoice to hear of your coming, in hopes that you will re-establish peace between my men and yours; for though your men, or rather your adversaries, endeavour to break the bond of our friendship, thank God it remains whole. It would be long to relate the injuries of which both parties accuse each other. I leave to your diligent and discreet dispensation the task of terminating these differences. You know that my Castle of Salmes, and all things that I possess in peace or war, are ever ready to serve you as well as myself. Absent, or present, you wish to preserve my honour as well as your own *."

Archduke Ladislaus of Poland, in the thirteenth century, is described as "a humble man and lover of quiet." In the same age Archduke Leopold of Austria, who founded Lilienfeld in 1206, is mentioned as being adorned with the triple grace of princely splendour, chivalrous heroism, and Christian mildness. Of St. Henry, while only Duke of Bavaria, we read that "he ruled the people pacifically, and extended peace †." The nobles of Thuringia, during the reign of Duke Lewis, husband of St. Elizabeth, are described as imitating his example. "The nobles then were true and pacific ‡." Lord Otacher, founder of the great monastery of Garsten in Upper Austria, is described in the chronicles of that house as a man very memorable, a worshipper of peace, and lover of justice. He it was who received and held out a hand to Conrad, Archbishop of Salzbουργ, who had been concealed many days in the woods and mountains, flying persecution, when he came to him, which no other prince dared to do §. Albert III., duke of Austria, surnamed Cum Trica, was a man of peace, and a lover of the divine worship, brave and glorious, too, in arms, as

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 569.

† Adelbold. Episc. Traject. in Vit. S. Hen.

‡ Montalembert, Hist. de S. El. 38.

§ Vita B. Bertholdi Abb. Garst. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

was proved in his deeds against the infidels, and against oppressors of the poor, and disturbers of the public peace; as when in 1388 he attacked Rorer of Lostain in his deemed-impregnable castle in Styria, and contrived to take it, when he razed it to the ground, to punish him for having interrupted and imprisoned the mighty barons, Goldeckler and Velber, on their return from Salzbουργ. Loved and venerated he was by his subjects on account of his humility, fear of God, modesty, and prudence, and for having governed the people committed to him, with all justice and truth, in peace unto the end. On his death-bed he charged his son, Duke Albert IV., to govern his subjects pacifically *. Philip, duke of Burgundy, was surnamed the Good, as Gerardus Noviomagus says, in consequence of his wonderful charity and love of peace †. Godefried, Duke of Bouillon, uncle of the great Godfrey, is commemorated in the abbeys of the Ardennes as the great preserver of peace. His death before the Castle of Flarding was tearful to all Lorraine; for justice and peace prevailed under him to a degree beyond what could be remembered by men of his time ‡. The rhythm on the murder of Charles, the good Count of Flanders, contains these lines:—

“Te exhorrebant impii,
Amabant pacis filii §.”

The blessed Bernard Margrave of Baden, in the middle of the fifteenth century, one of the most accomplished princes of his time, evinced such zeal and ability in maintaining peace in his territories amidst all the troubles which agitated his neighbours, that he obtained the title of the Solomon of Germany. Hyenceslaus, Duke of Bohemia in the time of Henry the Saxon, followed the pacific king so closely, that he used to go secretly by night to the forests, and bear wood on his own shoulders to the doors of widows and poor people, and leave it there ||. The short announcements of the death

* Thom. Ebendorff, Haselb. Chronic. Austriac. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

† Ap. Antonius Matthæus, Veteris Ævi Analecta.

‡ Hist. Andagenensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 951.

§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.

|| Ricobaldi Hist. Imperatorum, ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.

of such men are still made to proclaim their ruling passion. Thus we read:—"In 1339 the most mild Otho, Duke of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, passed from this life *." In a northern chronicle we read that in 1482 died William, Duke of Brunswick, a most pacific prince; and that in 1483 died Henry, Landgrave of Hesse, another propagator of peace †. St. Leopold, the pious Marquis of Austria, governed a people then, by long custom of nature ferocious, with such gentleness that he seemed only appointed to serve them an example of all peaceful virtues. So in the beautiful bull of Pope Innocent VIII., which announced his canonization, it is stated that during the forty years in which he ruled Austria, in those times so disturbed by the contestations of Henry and his sons, and afterwards by those of the fourth Henry and Lothaire, while all Germany was filled with war, and flames, and devastation, he administered all things with the utmost justice, humility, and tranquillity; and while other lands were deluged with blood he preserved the province of Austria, committed to him in peace, for which he has gained from highest God the recompense of eternal peace. In the ancient sequence for his festival we read,—

"Sumpsit felix et in terra
Prolem venustissimam
Pace fruens, sine guerra
Formam gessit optimam ‡."

Rudolf, son of Albert, Duke of Austria, is described in another chronicle in these few words: "a lover of virtue and of peace §;" and to Albert an old chronicle applies the words of Solomon. "Omnes semitæ illius pacificæ ||." Charles the good, Duke of Savoy, is represented in the histories of that nation as a pacific prince, ruling over a peaceable people. In the chronicles of Italy we have many and glorious examples. "The great Lord James of Carrara," says one, "was a sincere lover

* Chronic. Claustro-Neoburg. ap. Pez. i.

† Chronic. Terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii, Script. Rer. Germanic. tom. ii.

‡ Ap. Pez. tom. i.

§ Bernard. Norici Chronic. Aust. ap. id. i.

|| Anon. Leobiensis Chronic. lib. vi. ap. Pez. i.

of peace. He did all things wisely, so that he preserved Padua in peace and justice, and had peace with all men. In 1350, when he died, the grief of the people was extreme. Then, in the general assembly, a voice cried ‘O Padua, holy city, arise, and receive the successors of the great James, who, by reason of their relationship to him, and of his example, will cause you to see good and peaceful days *.’”

“When the Lord Canis the great of Verona was dying,” says another, “he called his nobles into the cathedral church, and there gave the dominion of Padua to the Lord Marsilus of Carrara, who refused it, saying that Padua should be under the dominion of the house of La Scala: yet, fearing lest the mind of the sick man should be disturbed, he accepted it †.” Afterwards, in 1337, this prince said before the assembled people of Padua, and in presence of the ambassadors of Venice and Florence, “the Lord knows truly that not for my sake, but for that of the citizens who have chosen to give me this power, did I accept the dominion, and that it was in order that peace and justice, and rest, might be granted to every one ‡.” In 1329, Azo Visconti, Lord of Milan, migrated to Christ, a man full of faith and all devotion, for he left more alms in his will, than any other that ever died in Lombardy, and he died with such piety and tears, after receiving all the sacraments, that he seemed to surpass monks; and all the clergy and people, and all Lombardy mourned for him; nor is it strange; for though a young man, not more than thirty-seven, he was the father of all the religious orders, a lover of peace, and of making concord, sweet in speech, beyond measure mild in voice and countenance, most prudent, generous, just, and chaste §. He had no war in his time, and loved not war, says another ||. The noble Luchinus Visconti, his brother, succeeded him. No one ever better preserved justice and peace; his heart was constant and his word firm: he heard diligently every day

* Hist. Cortusiorum de Novitatibus Paduæ, x. 5. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xii.

† Id. lib. iv. c. 9.

‡ Id. vii. 3.

§ Gualvanei de la Flamma Opusc. de Reb. Gest. ab Azone ap. id. tom. xii.

|| Petri Azarii Chronic. ap. id. t. xvi.

the causes of poor women, and fed thirty poor persons daily at his table. In general, the house of the Visconti had many laudable qualities; the first is that they were not men of blood, but always they gave life to their mortal enemies; they were warlike, but never cruel against persons, for it was scarcely ever heard that they committed an act of violence against any one. They were devout; they honoured the religious, and they had the royal disposition of being sweet in speech, and prone to the reconciliation of enemies *." As long as John Galeaz de Visconti lived, all Lombardy was preserved by him in peace and tranquillity †. Peter de Castelleto, a hermit of St. Augustin, preaching his funeral sermon; after describing his great charity and proneness to forgive, as seeking peace with all men, exclaimed, "O noble Bologna, mother and nurse of learning, long time wearied with blood and slaughter, didst thou seek peace and rest without finding them; but under the wings of this prince thou hadst tranquillity." It was his last prayer, that he might see peace in the church and in the empire, at least in Italy, or at least in Lombardy. Many cities and towns had wished to militate under him, but he not being a greedy invader of the property of others, rejected them, being contented with what was his own ‡. The illustrious Lord Pinus Ordelaifi, of Forli, was at all times a most mild and placable ruler, ever ready to forget his injuries, and extend grace to all who sought it, so that he was praised and loved, not alone by the exiles, whom he permitted to return to their country, and to whom he restored their property, but by all the people §. This excellent prince restored and built many fortresses in order to defend the people, and preserve them in peace. He it was who constructed also that beautiful palace in Forli, which was adorned with such noble columns and terraces, that it seemed a paradise of pleasure, as also many churches, and nearly all the greater edifices of Forli, through love for the city and its inhabitants. In MCCCCLXXII he accomplished another great work; for a great difference and quarrel having long existed between

* Id.

† Mat. de Griffonibus Memoriale, Hist. Rer. Bonon. ap. id. t. xviii.

‡ Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi. § Id.

the communes of Foropompilii and of Bertinorii, which led for many ages to litigations and controversies, and great injuries, even to homicide, while many were disputing respecting their boundaries, and since every year, especially in the season of harvest and vintage, these cruel scenes were repeated, at length by the piety of the Lord Pinus, with the aid of the reverend bishop of Arezzo, governor of Cesena, and Bertenosio for Pope Sixtus, with great labour, it was decided that thenceforth there should be no more such disputes, and so by God's grace, all the parties ratified the agreement with love, and peace, and tranquillity *. "We owe great and immortal thanks to Christ," says another historian, "who willed that our city should be governed by John Bentivoglio II. who has preserved Bologna from war, and not only from calamity, but even the fear of calamity. Though the forces of two potent kings were not far removed, no invasion of our territory has taken place. Many of our citizens entertained deadly hatred against each other, but by his grave discourses they have been brought to lay aside their animosity, and to contract alliances as a bond of love. These things are divine, and must be commemorated in our annals †." In 1330, Taddeo de Pepoli was made Lord of Bologna, and we read he well deserved the honour, for he preserved the state in unbroken peace, and even his enemies admitted that in the world there had never been a more just Lord. Again, it was a fine testimony which Thomas de Campo Fregoso, Doge of Genoa, could bear to his own government in 1404, when, in answer to Philip Angelo, Duke of Milan, who said, "that he sought only a lasting peace, but that in consequence of the conduct of the Genoese, he must declare open war," he replied, "we have endeavoured all our life to live pacifically with all Christian princes ‡." But it is above all in the Venetian chronicles that we find the greatest examples of this kind. The government of Venice was, indeed, generally praised for its giving rest to the people, and for endeavouring to keep

* *Annales Foroliv. ap. id. tom. xxii.*

† *Johan. Garzoni de dignitate Urbis Bononiæ, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxi.*

‡ *Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1570.*

them, as far as possible, remote from a warlike disposition *. “Suppose that you live under a republic well instituted,” says Cardan, “such as that of the Venetians, what have you to fear? there good men can live happily †.” Bessarion, Patriarch of Constantinople, making a donation of his library to that city, in a letter to the senate, assigns for his reason, that there he can find rest on every side for his mind, as being a state that imparts the utmost security, leisure, concord, and tranquillity, being governed with wisdom and moderation, in a spirit of gravity, unity, and goodness ‡. The portraits of the doges which we find in the original histories, present an astonishing series of great pacific men. Let us hear the Chronicles. Felix Cornicula, master of the army, began to govern Venice in 738. This humble and pacific man recalled to peace the Venetians who were at discord §. The Doge Maurice, in 764, is commemorated by Andrew Dandoli, as having reconciled the citizens to each other, and kept peace ||. Ursus, created Doge in 864, a man of much piety and wisdom, and a lover of peace, restored the sweetness of tranquillity between the Venetians and the Frioulians ¶. John Particiacus, in 887, refused the dukedom of Venice, but at the prayers of the people permitted himself to be enthroned in the palace, in order to appease the popular clamour. Six months after, when the commotion had subsided, he persuaded the people to provide another doge, and then returned to his own house **. Petrus Tribunus succeeded him. “Many,” says Dandoli, “write that he was wicked, and for his demerits slain by the people, but this is an error, as we have found in authentic writings, which attest that he was a wise, pacific, and benign man, and that he died a natural death ††.” How dear peace was to Ursus Particiacus II., was proved by his abdicating in 932, when he entered the monastery of St.

* Le Conseiller d’etat, Paris, 1645.

† De Utilitate ex advers. cap. iii. 2.

‡ Ap. Goldast. Philologiar. Epist.

§ Andreæ Danduli Chronic. lib. vii. 5. p. 1. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script.

|| Id. vii. 12. 1.

** Id. viii. 8.

¶ Id. viii. 5.

†† Id. viii. 9.

Felix de Amianes. He was a lover of justice and holiness*. Petrus Urseolus, created in 976, from his boyhood studied only how to please God. He feared to accept the dignity of doge, when elected by the people, lest by the ambition of secular honour he should lose his desire of sanctity. At length the people being importunate, he accepted it for the good of the republic†. Of the manner in which he renounced the world and became a monk, after reigning two years and twenty days, I shall speak in the next book. Aureo Mastropetro elected in 1178, after reigning fourteen years, left the world, and took the religious habit in the monastery of the holy cross‡. When Pietro Ziano, in the twenty-fourth year of his government, had resigned and retired to his own house, the voices of the electors were divided for a successor. To prevent discord, therefore, it was determined to make choice between the two by lot, when James Teupolo was raised to the dukedom. After three days, he went to visit his predecessor, lying in bed, who on account of his family, and the unusual mode of his election, despised him; but the new doge practised a pacific duty, took no notice of the insult, and returned to the palace§. Marco Cornario, elected in 1365, was a most wise jurisconsult, and an eminent lover of peace. He procured rest for the island of Crete, which rebels, from their impregnable mountain-tops, had long disturbed||. In 1367, Andrew Contareno was created doge against his will. To avoid being elected on the vacancy occurring, he tried many expedients; among others, that of withdrawing from the city; but though removed from the eyes of the electors, his approved virtue was present to their minds. On being created, he endeavoured to reject the dignity, but, conquered by the supplications of the city, he humbly accepted it. This doge was greatly Catholic, and skilled in the divine page, a lover of justice and of the republic, and he proved himself a zealous worshipper of peace. Though the Tergestini, who were anciently under the ducal dominion, had committed great injuries against the

* Id. viii. 10.

† Id. viii. 15.

‡ Id. x. c. 2.

§ Id. x. 5.

|| Raphagni Caresini Continuat. Chron. And. Dand. ap. id. xii.

honour of the Venetians, killing the captain of the galley deputed to guard Istria, and perpetrating other insupportable acts, yet he piously spared them, and was content with their promising to erect in their solemnities in the public place the standard of St. Mark, which by ancient covenant they were bound to receive at the creation of a new doge, and to send the murderers to Venice. This duke, abhorring the shedding of Christian blood, never made war, excepting for the sake of peace*. Michael Mauroceno, created in 1382, a man greatly Catholic, solicitously watched to the maintenance of peace†. Antonio Venerio, elected in 1383, diligently studied to preserve peace. This doge was a worshipper of peace, and all his endeavour was to preserve his reign with honour free from warlike acts‡.” But enough of these great names. Heroic acts of self-renouncement, the absence of ambition unequivocally manifested, an intention expressly directed to the fulfilment of the Christian law,—such are the indications in ancient Catholic histories, of the sincerity with which men loved peace.

As a conclusion to these researches, let us visit for a moment the cloisters of the middle age, where there is mention of those who sleep in dull cold marble: for one should never leave such a subject, without hearing testimony of this kind. So again, let us talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs.

In the monastery of St. John, in Stams, in Carinthia, we find the tomb of its founder, Meinhard, Duke of Carinthia, who died in 1295. On which are these lines:

“ Heu ! Meinhart, actor pacis litisque subactor,
Cœnobii factor hujus, pius et benefactor,
Qui similem nescit, Dux et comes hic requiescit,
Quem Fratres isti deplorant pectore tristi §.”

On the tomb of John Galeazo Visconti, Duke of Milan, are these lines:

“ Nec fuit in totis Europæ finibus umquam
Aptior imperiis Princeps ; nec sanctior alter

* Id.

† Id.

‡ Id.

§ Anon. Leobiens. Chronic. iii. ap. Pez. l.

Religione fuit, nec pacis amantior illo.
 Hic erat, unde quies magnorum certa laborum
 Italiæ speranda foret duce læta sub isto.
 Namque videbatur cœlo demissus ad unum
 Natus, ut in Latiis componeret aurea terris
 Secula, et afflicto tandem daret otia mundo *."

On the tomb of Philip, brother of Charles the Bald, Duke of Burgundy, we find this line :

" Prælia quod gessit, non sua culpa fuit †."

We might search for a long while in Westminster or St. Paul's, to find such a thought expressed upon a sepulchre.

The next is of ancient date. Gaufrid Martelle, Count of Anjou, is thus commemorated on his tomb, in the abbey of St. Nicholas, which he had erected :

" Dum viguit tua, dum valuit, Martelle, potestas,
 Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honestas ‡."

In the abbey of Charlieu, in the diocese of Besancon, among the sepulchres of some counts of Burgundy and seigneurs de Chauvirey, Dom Martene found that of Gesard de Charvireg, Knight and Lord, on which he read :

" Pacem dilexit. Pax sit æterna sibi §."

The inscription on the tomb of Charles the Bald, in the Mantuacensian monastery, attested his placid government; and that over the grave of William II., King of Sicily, contains these words : " He was a worshipper of peace and justice, and with all his strength he assisted the holy apostolic see against its enemies ||." The epitaph on the Emperor Lewis II. in the church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, attested his having ruled the kingdom with a firm and pacific breast.

That on Pepin, King of Italy, was thus :

" Rex bonus et placidus, nulli pietate secundus,
 Jure alios rexit rex bonus et placidus."

* Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.

† Ap. Ant. Matthæus, Vet. Ævi Analecta.

‡ Chronic. Turonense, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. v.

§ Voyage lit. de Deux Bened. 141.

|| Sicilia Sacra, i.

Mark the beautiful epitaphs which attest the pacific character of some princes of the Langobards at Beneventum. On the tomb of Arichis, who died in 787, we read,

“Solicite gratiam pacis servavit amator,
Ornasti patriam doctrinis, mœnibus altis:
Heu mihi quam subito perierunt omnia tecum
Gaudia, prosperitas, paxque quiesque simul!”

On that of Sico,

“Pacificus, mitis, prudens, sanctusque, suavis.”

On that of Radelchis,

“Nobilis et prudens, justus, patiensque, benignus,
Pacificus, verax, mitis, et aptus erat.”

On that of Radelcar,

“Tutamen patriæ, spes, requièsque fuit;
Fortia Francorum sedavit regna, suosque
Confines vinxit undique pacis ope*.”

We find testimony of the same kind in the ancient calendars of particular churches, in which are inscribed the obits of benefactors. Thus in one of these we read,

“Obiit Gofridus, clarus consilio, amicus pacis.”

And again,

“Obiit Adelelmus, nobilis miles, et humilis †.”

But it will be said, granting that the number of pacific rulers was immense, still the middle ages were pre-eminently ages of war and desolation. We have seen the extraordinary circumstances which then existed, to cause the disorders, which I have not sought to extenuate or conceal: but to the objections founded on such facts, we can find a sufficient answer in the words of St. Augustin, to the Pagans of his time. “There are many,” he says, “who now calumniate Christian times, and impute the evils which are in the state, to Christ,

* Ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. ii. 310.

† Martyrolog. Eccles. Antissiodor. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

and the good, not to Christ, but to its fate: whereas, on the contrary, if they had any just thoughts, the cruel and hard things which are suffered from enemies, they should ascribe to that Divine Providence which corrects and amends by wars the corrupt manners of men, and exercises by such afflictions the just and laudable life of mortals, before it transfers them to a better; while they should ascribe to Christian times the good, which is so contrary to what would have followed from the natural order of barbarous wars, and acknowledge that they owe to the name of Christ, even their own preservation. Whatever of devastation, slaughter, pillage, fire, and affliction was committed in these times, was done after the custom of wars; but what was done in a new manner, “*quod autem more novo factum est*,” that barbarous ferocity should appear mild, that vast basilicas should have served as a safe asylum for a conquered people—this, by every one who is not blind, must be ascribed to the name of Christ and to Christian times*.”

“Never was there, and never will there be rest to mortals,” says Cardan, “but yet compare what happens to you now, with the state of things in the time of Polybius, and these are wreaths of roses: those might truly be called calamities; nothing was safe to them. Slaughter without cause, slavery, plunder, all was a jest. Add to this, that we have the contemplation of an eternal and happy life, which to them was unknown†.” The second Punic war in Italy, Spain, and Sicily, consumed above fifteen hundred thousand men, in less than seventeen years. The civil war of Cæsar and Pompey three hundred thousand men; that of Brutus, and Cassius, and Sixtus Pompeius, was still more bloody. Caius Cæsar boasted that he had caused the death of one million one hundred and ninety-two thousand men in battle. Pompey the Great wrote in the temple of Minerva, that he had defeated and slain at one time, one hundred and eighty-three thousand; Quintus Fabius destroyed one hundred and ten thousand Gauls; Caius Marius, two hundred thousand of the Cimbri; Mithridates by one epistle caused the death of eighty thousand Roman citizens, dispersed through Asia. What were the battles

* De Civ. Dei, i. l. 7.

† Hieron. Card. de Vita propria, lib. ii. c. 45.

of the middle ages to these, or, until the wars of the false reformation began, what their horrors compared to these horrors? Besides, after all, the extent to which wars prevailed in the middle ages, has been greatly exaggerated. After the coming of the Desired of all people, often and during long intervals, peace was established under these meek and holy monarchs, who reigned in safety and in bliss. He in whom they trusted spoke peace to the nations, and his power was from sea to sea. In the historical dialogue of the Scotch monastery at Vienna, the boy who elicits the information says towards the end, "you have related many wars and other evils which occurred in the time of your youth. Pray did not some good happen during the same?" To whom the old man replies, "yes, more good than evil did befall *."

Muratori, after censuring the absurd disdain with which the grammarians treated all monuments of the middle ages, adds these words, "during these times there was an abundant population, and no difficulty to find genius of the first order, the fields were cultivated; commerce and peace, and riches were not wanting †." Fauriel concludes from incidental passages in the exhortation to the judges by Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, in the ninth century, that the cities of Gaul were far from being completely devastated by the wars of the barbarians, that there was an abundant circulation of Italian and Arabic money, that foreign merchandize was not wanting, that commerce and industry, and the arts of peace had not ceased, even amidst those dreadful invasions ‡. If such was the worst epoch, the exaggeration of modern writers on this subject must be extreme. Truly it would be difficult for them to prove, that at any period of the middle ages, the evil overpowered the good, the wicked had dominion over the just, the earth was more free to the violent than to the peaceful, or cruelty more safe than innocence. The ancient histories abound with passages attesting the peace which prevailed.

* Senatorium Dialog. Hist. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

† Antiq. Ital. tom. i. Præfat.

‡ Hist. de la Gaul Mérid. iii. 495.

Of Italy, in the time of Theodoric, we read that such peace and security reigned, that merchants travelled without molestation; gold and silver were as safe in the open fields, as within the walls of a city. No town then had gates, so that men could pass in or out at all hours as they wished *. How interesting to decipher testimonies of this kind in these fragments of Langobardic inscriptions, like that upon a stone dug up in the sixteenth century in Modena, commemorating a foundation made by Luitprand, on which could be read,

“ Hic ubi insidiæ prius parabantur,
Facta est securitas ut pax servetur.
Sic virtus altissimi fecit Loncibard.
Tempore tranquillo et florentiss.
Omnes ut unanimes . . . Ple . . is princ. † ”

Agatha, the scholastic who flourished under Justinian I., speaking of the Franks, says, “ among their other virtues, I greatly admire the mutual concord and justice which they entertain amongst themselves.” Under them, as under the Langobards, Italy enjoyed constant internal peace ‡. During the reign of the Carlovingian kings, and the empire of the Franks, which lasted about one hundred years, Lombardy, says James Malvecius, another old historian, enjoyed happy tranquillity. There was no violence then, no oppression, no schism, but the people were nourished in justice and joy. Then men used to sweeten their labours with cheerfulness of heart, and then were heard on all sides those songs in praise of kings and royal maidens, which in my days the rustic youths delight to sing §. Landulfus senior, describing the Italians of his age in 1085, says, “ Charity, which covers the multitude of sins, as a mother nourishes them, abounding in all good things. The life of men without incursions of wars, or invasions of nations, or movement of enemies, passed in pleasure, and their manners were pure from lust, so that the race of inhabitants was perfect and

* Muratori Antiq. Ital. diss. xxiii.

† Ap. id. xxi.

‡ Id. D. xxiii.

§ Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum. Dist. v. c. 22. ap. Murat. xiv.

without deformities. The times were pacific, happy, delightful, full of love, and salubrious *." During two hundred years, while Germany and France continued under the same kings, Thurgau enjoyed an uninterrupted peace, which the rude sons of Louis le débonnaire were the first to break †. Nor was it alone the people of this region who had rest, as if Spartans among Greeks ‡. Peace might be interrupted elsewhere, but it was ever quick to rise again and flourish. "It is wonderful how his father, King Henry," says the biographer of Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, "came to such serenity of peace, after finding all parts of the kingdom in confusion, from the cruel invasion of the Danes, Slavonians, Hungarians, and the efforts of domestic foes! By his fortitude and benignity he repressed the one, and appeased the other §." "In the time of William," says William of Jumiege, speaking of the Conqueror, "the inhabitants of Normandy enjoyed peace and repose, and all held the servants of God in great respect. All the great rivalled each other in building churches on their domains, and in enriching the monks who should pray to God for them ||." "King Henry, who succeeded William Rufus," says Orderic Vitalis, "governed during thirty-five years in peace and prosperity. In his time the church of God increased in riches and honours for the greater glory of God. This is attested by the monks and clerks, who gained so much in numbers, by the hermits who cultivate the deepest recesses of the forests, and who rejoice to see monasteries and palaces rise, and to hear in the calm of the heart, the glory of God sung in the very places where lawless banditti used to commit so many crimes. At this time a great number of new basilicas and oratories, and vast cloisters of convents, were built in the English villages. All the religious orders enjoying peace and prosperity, applied within and without, to manifest their zeal in the worship of Almighty God. In the fervour of their devotions, the faithful

* Hist. Med. tom. iv. Rer. Ital. Script.

† Ildefons von Arx Geschichte des S. Gallen, i. 64.

‡ Thucyd. i. 70.

§ Vita Brunonis à Ruotgero ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns.

|| Hist. Norm. lib. vii. 22.

demolished the ancient churches which had been built under Edgar, Edward, and other kings, in order to carry them to greater perfection in height and magnitude, and elegance of workmanship, for the greater glory of the Creator*.” Froissart says of the time when the Black Prince invaded it, that the country of Carcasson, Narbonne, and Toulouse, was rich; and that its good and simple people did not know what war was, having never before witnessed it†. “In the time of Otho,” says an old writer, “there was throughout the whole of Germany the utmost peace and security, so that all men wondered how even in his absence such peace could be maintained‡.” In fact, a golden age began with Otho the Great, the son and husband of saints; for Matilda his mother, Editha his first, and Adelheid his second wife, were all three canonized, and ended with Otho III. surnamed the Wonder of the World, and Henry II. who merited the title of the Saint. This period saw the deliverance of Europe, the restoration of the Church from its injuries, the conversion of the Hungarians, Moravians, Bohemians, Poles, and Danes. Then flourished the holiest bishops, the most learned men, the most eminent schools. Peace and prosperity, with renown, were simultaneously obtained§. The local historians of the middle ages speak with delight of the peace enjoyed by cities. “In few words,” says one in 1310, “I will relate what I have seen in the marshes of Treviso. Padua is free: full of infinite riches, adorned with towers and other delicate edifices. Strangers come to it from divers parts, as to an asylum. It is splendid with wise men, doctors in every liberal art, and religious men; and to conclude in brief, many bodies of saints are buried there, by whose prayers God has preserved Padua in peace for the last fifty years, ever since the death of Ezzelino||.” Jannotius Manetti, Prefect of Pistoia, in the beginning of his history of that state, appeals to all the citizens to

* Lib. x.

† Liv. iii. 104.

‡ Fragm. Hist. in Urstis.

§ Hock Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert, 35.

|| Hist. Cortusiorum de Novit. Paduæ, lib. i. xi. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xii.

witness the peace and prosperity which they enjoy under him ; adding, “ for with this mind and resolution we undertook the government, that all our efforts should be directed to promote the public and private welfare, and moreover, the gratification of Almighty God, whom above all others we should desire to gratify ; and hence our success seems wonderful to all, especially in that province, where party-factions had so long flourished *.” Petrarch, addressing Thomas, of Messana, says “ that they live under a king in such sweet and delightful peace, that they seek neither the fortune of Alexander, nor the ardour of Romulus, nor the magnificence of Ancus †.” Moreover in earlier times, at the most disturbed epoch, there were always some territories where, under pacific lords, the children of peace could find tranquillity. Thus under Fulco the good, Count of Anjou, we read that the people enjoyed such peace and prosperity, that crowds of peasants flocked from all sides to live in that region. This was the Count who used to go into the choir with the monks and sing mattins ; and who on the festival of St. Martin, in winter, after receiving the communion, while returning to his place in the choir, felt slightly indisposed, and presently expired in the arms of the clerks. But we must attend to the facts of a new order, to which St. Augustin alludes, as being so contrary to the ordinary events of wars, and which he ascribes to the Christian religion. Such was the conduct of the barbarians in the fifth century, sparing Toulouse, which offered so rich a prey, at the prayers of Exupère, its Bishop. Such was the Church, becoming an immense asylum for the conquered, the Romans, and the serfs, and for the conquerors who fled into it, from the tumult of the barbaric life, and the violence of their own passions : for the serfs mounted to the priesthood, along with the sons of kings and dukes. The little and the great met together in Jesus Christ, while vast donations transferred the land from profane uses, to enrich pacific men, poor men, and serfs ‡. Such again was the peace enjoyed by that vast multitude, commemorated by the Church, who wonderfully pursued their

* Hist. Pistoriensis ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxix.

† Epist. iii. 7.

‡ Michelet, Hist. de France, i. 253.

way, keeping the divine commands, that they might be found uninjured amidst the mighty waters. After citing the constitutions of Rikhulf, Bishop of Soissons, in 889, an historian of that city says, “these innocent exhortations to assiduity in the ecclesiastical duties, seem dictated amidst the most profound peace, and form a singular contrast with the real situation of a society, torn and disorganized to its centre *.” He seems to forget that this profound peace was a reality in the worst of times for men of good will, because as Pope Innocent III. says to an injured Queen of France, “*patientibus patienter passio non est pati.*” Of Wolfgang, Theodoric, Abbot of Fulda in 1550, a contemporary poet, sung,

“——— hic tempora ferrea vidit :

At miti vicit pectore triste malum †.”

After reading some modern historians of the middle ages, one would suppose that men were continually overwhelmed with a sense of present danger, and that they could not possibly have attended to any thing but their own deliverance. How contrary was the fact even when peace was most disturbed ! “The great question which agitated the fourteenth century,” as Michelet observes, “was not the wars of the English in France, the battles of Creci and Poitiers, but that of the Conception of the blessed Virgin.” It was this most tender and delicate doctrine which then engaged the public mind, as well as the greatest intelligences that dignified the human race. It is true, however, one cannot open the writings composed in times of real desolation, without astonishment at the interior peace which must have been enjoyed, when men could translate the stubbornness of fortune into so quiet and so sweet a style. But the very phenomenon itself, of which St. Augustin speaks as formerly unprecedented, must be added also to these facts of our history ; for what was originally the transient result of an involuntary impulse, was in the middle ages the permanent effect of legislation. Hear the law. “Let the man engaged in quarrel, find peace in the church, in his

* Martin, Hist. de Soissons, i. 362.

† Schannat, Hist. Fuldensis, p. iii.

house, in going to the church and returning from it ; and whoever shall break this peace, must pay nine times thirty solidi *.” Those who took sanctuary, might be seized, however, if they attempted to defend themselves by arms, and if killed in the porch with arms in their hands, the sanctuary was not violated ; but with that exception the churches and monasteries were asylums for the innocent during war, generally held inviolate, until the invasions of the false reformers, who respected nothing. The barbarians had introduced the custom unknown in the time of the Romans, of habitually wearing arms. In 1032, the Bishops of France, not content with prohibiting it, decreed that in future no one should shed the blood of any Christian : on which occasion many supposed that universal peace would be established ; but others, among whom was Gerhard, Bishop of Cambray, argued that this was an unwise opinion, for that the race of combatants would ever exist among men, and that it was even necessary for the protection of those who prayed, and those who tilled the earth †.

If the total suppression of wars was impossible, still however, much was done as an approximation towards peace. The Burgundian prelates obliged the barons of their duchy to swear, under pain of excommunication, to renounce all private wars of revenge. The interposition of the church in general caused a return of peace to many countries, as we shall see presently : but unquestionably the most remarkable of these new facts in relation to the mitigation of war, was the suspension of hostilities at stated times, of frequent recurrence for frightened peace to pant, while men without disturbance might assist at the divine worship ; for this was obtained through the influence of the clergy, that peaceful people, whose life passed in a round of festivals and processions, and who only sought the innocent renown arising from their schools. The terms of one of the charges brought against Louis le débonnaire, “ that, contrary to the Christian religion and to his vow, without any public utility or certain necessity, he ordered a

* Lex Frision addit. Sap. tit. i.

† Hermanni Corneri Chron. ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, ii.

general expedition during the season of Lent*, shows what was the general usage in that age."

Guido, Bishop of Puy, in Velai, at the end of the tenth century, was, however, the first who established the *Treuga Dei*, which was the origin of the great provision for peace, emanating from Cluny in the following century. The council of Clermont decreed that the truce of God should be observed during all the festivals and their vigils of St. Mary, and those of the apostles, as also from the Sunday before the beginning of Lent, till sunrise on the Monday after the octave of Pentecost, and from sunset on the Wednesday before Advent, till the octave of the Epiphany, and every week from sunset on Wednesday till sunrise on Monday†. The fathers of the council in 1041, at which presided the Archbishops of Arles and Avignon, thus speak: "we beseech and conjure all you who fear God, and believe in him, and who are redeemed by his blood, to provide for the safety of your souls and bodies, and to follow the footsteps of God, having peace together, that you may deserve to possess with Him perpetual peace and rest. Receive, therefore, and hold inviolate that peace or truce which has been ordained, the mercy of God inspiring us, that from Wednesday evening till sunrise on Monday, there may be firm peace between all, that during these four days and nights, every one may be secure to do what he chooses, delivered from all fear of enemies, observing the Thursday, through reverence of our Lord's ascension, the Friday on account of his passion, the Saturday through veneration for his sepulture, and the Sunday to honour his resurrection‡." In 1155, at the council of Soissons, King Louis VII. and many princes assembled, revived and swore to observe the truce of God inviolably, and that all the churches and their possessions, all labourers and merchants in all places, and all men of every condition, should have peace and full security. But perhaps the most interesting memorial of this institution is the letter of Ives de Chartres, to all the people of his

* Ap. Duchesne, *Ann. Franc.* ii. 331.

† Orderic Vital. lib. ix.

‡ Ap. Martene, *Thes. Anecd.* tom. i.

diocese enforcing its observance. "We ask and entreat," he says to them, "and by the authority of Jesus Christ we prescribe that, mindful of your salvation, at least these four days, on which our Lord and Saviour more evidently worked the medicinal sacraments of our salvation, you will hold for pacific, and restrain your minds, tongues, and hands during them, from all injury. Every disciple of the Christian religion knows that on the fifth feria, our Lord Jesus celebrated his last supper and instituted it for ever, and then washed the feet of his disciples, and the same day was betrayed, and on the same also in view of his disciples ascended into heaven, and in all things left us an example of peace; and that on the sixth feria, the first Adam was made of the earth, and the second Adam who came to redeem man, was made incarnate, and suffered, and thus restored peace to the world; and that on the seventh feria, God rested from all his work, to signify to us the future and eternal Sabbath of the just; that on the same day the flesh of Christ rested in the sepulchre, while his soul made war with hell, and brought back spoils from the ancient enemy;—O Christian, redeemed with the blood of Jesus, be not ungrateful or unmindful of these works of peace!—and that on the eighth feria, which is the first, the Lord rose from the grave, and left us an example of our double resurrection; for all which and other reasons, our ancestors decreed that more especially on these days, peace should be preserved, under grievous penalties, proportioned to the quality and the crime of the violators of peace; and see how much is wanting to you of Christian perfection, when the days which should be devoted to celestial warfare, to the seeking of salvation, you compel to be remitted to you to exercise malice, and to find death! See, brethren, if any one of you should during three days cut his flesh with iron, or burn it with fire, or afflict it with any other torture, and should only rest during four days, would he not be tied by his friends, and sent as a madman to physicians? How much more ought not one who wounds his soul, to be bound with the chains of Christ, that he might cease from inflicting wounds on his soul, and might attend to its life! But since every age is prone to evil from youth, and that perverse men loving the wages of sin rather than those of justice, rise up like madmen against

physicians, expecting to hear better things of you and things nearer to salvation, we tolerate your imperfection, we dissemble your impiety, and since iniquity abounding we are unable to cure you perfectly, we would rather have you infirm and wounded than altogether dead; therefore we entreat and command you to observe these days of peace strictly*.”

Many instances might be given of the farther enforcement of this observance. In 1209 we find the Lord Milo, Legate of the Holy See, saying to the barons of France, “ I prescribe that you observe amongst yourselves, the peace or truce as it has been enjoined on you †.” But we must not remain longer here. The passages already cited, will justify the remark of a recent author, that this institution, the wisest and most humane on record, will be remembered to the honour of the Church, while human records exist.

CHAPTER IX.

WHO can ever meditate on the peace of men in communion with the church of God, without having in his ears, “ *ut omnes unum sint* †,” and the rest of that divine sentence not to be uttered by unhallowed lips, the fulfilment of which constitutes so astonishing, so unprecedented a fact in history, the most glorious result, as well as the most abundant source of peace, both internal and external, possessed by the pacific in ages of faith? “ In the council of Nice the world had the first idea, and the first example of a society existing in different climates amidst local and private laws, and yet independent of the princes and societies amidst which it was placed, a people forming part of other nations, and yet isolated in the midst of them, sending their deputies from all parts of the universe, to treat upon affairs

* Ivon. Carnot. Epist. xliv. † Ap. Martene, Thes. Anec. i.

‡ Joan. xvii.

which concerned only their moral life, and their relation with God *." Our adversaries remark "this one great fact which characterizes the middle ages." "This fact," say they, "is the unity of the Christian society, independent of all the diversities of time, place, government, language, and origin. Singular phenomenon! at the moment when Roman empire disappears, when the political union perishes, the religious union rises up, and the church proclaims the most perfect unity of its doctrine, and the universality of its law. Glorious and fruitful fact, which has rendered immense services to humanity, from the fifth to the thirteenth century." Then after admitting that the unity of the church has maintained bonds between nations, and sentiments of a vast sympathy, they conclude that the result was, "the most extended and the purest idea which has ever rallied men, the idea of a spiritual society, for that is the philosophic name of the church, and the type which it has wished to realize †." Instead of the modern fashion of one nation with a variety of religions, there was then the spectacle of a variety of countries with one religion. As the church sings in her office of many martyrs, "one faith and one hope was in them." Pass through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ, interrogate the first you meet in each, or even the dead, whose voice is graven on their tombs, and when you ask to what nation they belong? they will reply as the souls in purgatory said to Dante, who asked "if any soul of Latium dwelt amongst them?" "My brother! we are each one citizens of one true city ‡." All generations from the beginning of the church, till the revolution of the sixteenth century, attest the fact. "Though the distance of territory makes the habitations of Christians different, yet," says Peter of Blois, "the society of holy charity under one pastor, Christ, makes them all one flock §." "One faith," cries Agobard, "one hope, one charity, one will, one prayer for all men, of all nations, and all conditions, invoking one Father, seeking one sanctification, demanding one kingdom, O celestial fraternity! O eternal

* Chateaub. Discours Hist. ii. 13.

† Guizot, Cours d'Hist.

§ Epist. lxvii.

‡ Purg. xiii.

concord ! O inseparable unity ! derived from one, and referred to one Author of all things, by whom the heavens rejoice, and the earth is gladdened ! All are thus brethren—the servant and his lord, the poor and the rich, the ignorant and the learned, the weak and the strong, the humble workman and the sublime emperor. No one disdains another, no one is puffed up, since there is one bread, one body of Christ for all, whether Aquitains or Longobards, Burgundians or Alamanns, serfs or free. All are citizens of the saints, and servants of God, who hath made all one, making peace, and reconciling us to Himself by his cross, evangelizing peace to those who were afar off, and to those who were near, so reducing all to one body, that they are to be called Christ, rather than Christians *.”

The chief Sophist of Geneva, of the last century, accuses the Christian religion of not being sufficiently national. Where religious unity is broken, the inhabitants of different countries are found sufficiently eager for claiming a nationality in the old Pagan sense for themselves, and not slow disciples of Rousseau and the Abbé de Mably, who were great advocates for exciting nations to regard each other with hatred ; but the fact undoubtedly is, that in ages of faith religion had so united all nations, that the very name to indicate separation was unknown. The precept which overthrew the system of national religions, changed the face of the world. Unknown to all the sects of philosophy, without antecedent or example, it alarmed even the apostles themselves. It was not till after the third prodigy, that they obeyed it ; and St. Peter, after baptizing Cornelius, thought it necessary to justify himself by saying, “ what, was I to resist God ? ” During the middle ages the nation of each Christian was Christendom. “ In every country,” as Michelet observes, “ the Popedom encouraged institutions universal, which were not confined to a locality. The people in Spain, till the year 1820, had never heard the word nation in the modern Pagan sense. They understood what was meant by Spain and Spaniards, but as the sophists complained, the Spanish nation was a phrase unintelligible to them. So it was in every part of Europe, till those heretics rose up, through whose ill

* Agobardi Epist. ad Ludovic. Imp. 104.

counsel in the world, no more one faith prevails, but each creed is to men of other nations understood by none. Europe was then disorganized, and as Saint Simon says, after describing the harmonious unity of all states in the middle ages, "one half of the Europeans emancipated themselves from the Papal chains, that is to say, broke the only political bond which attached it to the great society."

This absence of a spirit merely national, must not be mistaken for the neglect of any social duty. Thierry remarks that, "a few simple sentences in the old Chronicles, transcribed neither by Mézeray, Velly, nor Anquetil, say more to the praise of the townsmen of the middle ages, than long pages pompously repeating the words people and nation*." The love of one's country was held by the great doctors of the school, to be included in charity, and one of its chief gifts†," so that Dante speaks of "the charity of native land, that in his bosom wrought‡." St. Thomas expressly says, "that for his country's safety, a good man should be willing to die," and in fact never were there more glowing or pathetic examples of the power of that love, than during the middle ages. All its tenderness too was found. Peter of Blois, after twenty-six years spent in England, writing to Odo, Bishop of Paris, to request that he may be recalled to France, that he may at least be buried in his native country, concludes with these lines :

" Me natale solum quadam dulcedine tangit :
Semper et immemorem non sinit esse sui §."

There is not wanting proof that this affection for the land of one's birth, shed a delightful influence over the manners of Catholic states. The people of Pavia in 1330 are described as being affable and familiar to all persons : but if they meet with fellow countrymen in foreign parts, we are told that not only friends, but even enemies, whether of the city itself or of the surrounding towns and villages, receive each other with such be-

* Lettres sur l'Hist. de France, i.

† St. Thom. de Regim. Prin. iii. 4.

§ Epist. clx.

‡ Hell, xiv.

nignity, that one might suppose they were beloved uterine brothers*. The union of nations under the church favoured this love, inasmuch as it tended to strengthen all the charities of life, while on the other hand it did not exclude diversity of customs and laws. In the ninth century, the Romans were governed by the Roman law, the Franks by the Salic and Ripuarian, the Burgundians by the Burgundian, the Lombards by the Lombard, the Saxons by the Saxon law; but notwithstanding this variety, the great principle of unity prevailed, for the canonical legislation was one and the same for all people, and the religious society was essentially one. In England, the Mercian, Danish, and West Saxon laws simultaneously prevailed, until they were collected into one body of the common law by King Edward the Confessor, but all the while the union of faith no less existed: all countries were within the pale: "the just were united in God," as Gilles, of Rome, observes, "while the whole kingdom of the evil, whatever may be their political or commercial bonds, is necessarily broken and dispersed†;" since, as Tacitus remarks, "*faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam‡.*" For war alone they can associate together, and like the Germans call each other brothers§. There were no strong national traits of character in the ordinary sense of the term; for in fact these are generally at the bottom, vices. If we attend to nature, we find that children are the same every where. It is evil customs that introduce in after life these nationalities, which have so pernicious a tendency in estranging the inhabitants of one country from those of another, till they even contract the old Pythagorean notion, that the use of a foreign language is a thing to be condemned, and that no one should speak in any but his vernacular tongue. If we interrogate religion, the type is likewise every where the same. Hence at Rome there is nothing peculiar or exclusive, which Romans only can admire; because in the centre of

* Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, 13. ap. Mur. Rer. It. xi.

† Ægid. Rom. de Regim. Princ. i. c. 3.

‡ Hist. i. 54.

§ Ægidii Tschudi Epist. ap. Goldast. Philologic. Epist. Cent.

Catholic unity it is the universal sense of enlightened Christians, which determines what is just and becoming. The consequences of this union of nations, though at times partially defeated, were upon the whole immense. In the first place it secured the world from the dangers of wars of opinion. There was one philosophy for all countries : so that in none was there a party sending armies from every side to impose its views of constitutions, or of moral wisdom, upon the people of other lands, as was so lately seen in Portugal. No country had that qualification which Guizot ascribes to France, the feeling that it has a right to reign over the world, to govern facts, that it is called to reform and to regulate facts according to its own reason. "This," he adds, "is what Italy wants;" and he must know that all countries that were Catholic wanted it. England, France, Spain, or Germany, would have revolted with horror from the idea of giving Europe a philosophic system, or any social amelioration, that was not identical or in harmony with the wisdom of the church, and the manners that were the consequences of faith. There was then no people insolently boasting that they could give law to Christendom, because the numbers of revolted spirits would fly to aid them ; and as I before observed, no minister of a state avowing that he had in his hand the slips of war, the impious of all climates, whom he could let loose in an instant, on the pacific. If we look at the troubles of France in ancient times, we find that they were disorders which did not involve the question of the duty of maintaining this unity. The English wars with France were owing to a disputed succession : the wars of the house of Anjou, and the expedition into Italy, form no doubt a history full of tragedies : but there was no war against religion, to overthrow the work of all Christian ages, and to reconstruct the human society while attempting to place it on a new foundation. There were no revolutionary wars, no formidable phalanxes marching forth to subdue kings and people with unconquerable audacity, rapid like the lightning, and leaving behind them more fatal traces of their destructive passage : thrones were not seen on all sides tottering, respected princes belonging to ancient races, whose power seemed consecrated by time, obliged to fly into exile : the course of armies was not marked by the fall of all ancient and venerated things, by the overthrow

of all former relations, institutions, customs, opinions, and manners. Whatever horrors attended war, there was always some alternative for human prudence but despair, always some secure ground in the force of wisdom, virtue, and ability. Secondly, religious wars were excluded: and whoever desires to know the extent of this benefit, should refer to the writings of Florimond Raymon, Pasquier*, Paradin, and other writers, who as eye-witnesses describe them. What the moderns, forgetting Him who can cause men to agree, deem impossible, was accomplished, and not in vain rose from every altar the church's prayer that God would inspire the minds of the faithful with one will, causing them to love what He prescribes, to desire what He promises, that amidst the worldly vicissitudes their hearts might be fixed where true joys are found†. With the ancients, the privilege of isopolity was necessary to enable the inhabitants of one independent city to partake in the sacrifices and festivals of another‡. The short periodical interruption of hostilities consequent on the Olympic festival, did not allay the animosity of warring tribes. There was perhaps no other occasion on which the Greek was so forcibly impressed with the consciousness of the separation between himself and other nations. The business of the festival itself ministered constant fuel to the selfish and malignant passions of rival cities. The separate treasuries at Olympia, as at Delphi, of different states, were often monuments of their mutual enmity§. In ages of faith no nation had such festivals. There were no national religions, as with the moderns, who have returned to the Gentile notion in this respect, whose patriotism derives strength from their religious views, and whose religious views become exclusive as their patriotism, insomuch that the limits of their territory seem to serve also as the limits of their religious obligations. The social state was in ages of faith no longer the end, but the means of life. No one conceived the idea of bringing back the narrow and barbarous civism of the ancient Pagan republics; for from the unity of the church, all people tended even in spite of

* Lettres, liv. iv. 12, 13. 15. 17.

† Fourth Sunday after Easter.

§ Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, i.

‡ Niebuhr, ii. 50.

themselves, to become one people. "I say nothing of the labour of the journey which I have undertaken," says St. Avitus, "because whatever may be the length of time, or the vastness of the distance, for which he leaves the habitation of his father-land, a priest can never be called a stranger or foreigner, wherever the Catholic church can be found*." The troubles of a journey, as we often observed, were then immense. Ives de Chartres says of his going to Rome, "if with youthful strength we could still proceed on foot over the broken ways of Alps, ride through precipices, and across the waves of intervening torrents†." The *κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου*, to use the expression of Æschylus, were not then seeking to connect nations together by rails of iron, but what perhaps was a greater triumph, Rome had so united them intellectually by the charity of faith, that thoughts and sympathies passed like lightning between the most distant members of the mystic body. In 1164, when it was reported in France that peace was made between the holy Archbishop of Canterbury and the King of England, a correspondent of the former assured him that all men in that kingdom rejoiced for his peace, as if for their own, "*omnes de pace vestra tanquam de sua lætabantur*." The discipline of the church tended to make men forget the differences of nations, and to renounce those antipathies against which a law of the first Christian Emperor was levelled, when the Roman emperors were permitted to form alliance with the blood of the Franks‡. While some interested nobles and narrow-minded churchmen complained, the people were thankful that merit without regard to birth or local connections, might determine the choice of those who were to guide them.

England beheld without jealousy, Greeks, Italians, and Frenchmen, among her bishops, as Germany, Italy, and France bowed their heads under the pastoral staff of an Englishman or an Irishman. Some modern historians remark that these papal reservations had the advantage of rescuing great sees from the feudal influence which

* S. Avit. Epist. ad Cæsar. Episc.

† Iv. Carnot. Epist. ccxix.

‡ Constant. Porphyr. de Administ. Imp.

might have ill provided for them. Whereas the popes used to select from a convent or the universities, some learned and holy man, to be made primate of the Gauls, or of the empire *. The sublime prayer before the eleventh lesson, on holy Saturday, alludes to this union of all nations in the common country of the faithful ; for it addresses God as having united the diversity of nations in the confession of his name, and it seeks that there may be one piety of actions, as well as one faith of minds ; so that making allowance for the genius of individuality, like that of the Celtic races, in all essential points, manners as well as principles were to be similar and universal. Catholic patriotism again, besides being delivered from the danger of religious wars, had also a conviction that no national wars to do offence and scathe in Christendom, could be ever just. As in early times described by Thucydides, there were local wars between cities, but no great national wars waged as such † : and not for the reason to which he ascribes the smallness of the ancient expeditions, the want of money, to which the world at present is said to owe its peace, but from the absence of any systematic hostility between divisions of the common family. The δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρως ‡ never disturbed its peace : the conquerors of the ages of faith had not therefore to make complaints like those of Stephen Pasquier, where he says, that if you read an Italian historian, you will find the late French victories stript of their glory and bastardized ; for in the renown of the true Christian warrior, all nations took an equal interest. It was not till the fourteenth century that wars changed their character from being the result of particular quarrels between lord and vassal, or vassal and vassal, becoming general wars of a people against a people, a government against a government. Previously, a war between Christians had a character of sacrilege. If the ideal of empire had not been counteracted by the passions of men, and the questions arising out of the feudal law, there would have reigned a universal peace : that idea excluded all cases of collision. Hence the Chronicles of St. Denis say that judgment was given by

* Michelet, iii. 495.

† Lib. i. 15.

‡ Æsch. Eum.

the Prud'hommes, on the differences between the kings of France and England, according to the laws and decrees which declare that "the obligations and the alliances which are made against peace, should be considered null*." The church and her peaceful solemnities had made all nations one family: so that no poet then would have dared, like the heathen satirist, to pray that tearful war and pestilence might be transferred to a foreign land†, when he was aware that millions of his own countrymen were saying in the bottom of their hearts to the men of that very land, with whom they were associated in the bonds of religious rites, and perhaps personally too, by a thousand familiar ties arising out of them, "Propter domum Domini Dei nostri, quæsi vi bona tibi." Talk not of rival interests, of the balance of powers. Tell me not in the heathen words: Τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον τε καὶ ἐχθρὸν νομιζέτω πᾶς τῇ πόλει‡. Plato would have other views had he written after the blessed limbs had been nailed upon the tree. What love can an earthly country have for me, if it revolts against charity itself? Alas! I may find it what it is styled in verses that I read upon the tomb of Dante, and which he ordered to be inscribed over his bones:

"A mother of little love."

Can the prevalence of this conviction respecting the duty of maintaining peace between Christian nations be shown from history? clearly it can. All through the middle ages, we find that political peace was sought for on religious grounds. Charlemagne, in his letter to Offa, King of the Mercians, explains his motive in seeking alliance with him, in these words. "Since it becomes powerful and renowned, kings to be united in the ties of friendship, and to congratulate each other in mutual joys, in order that in the bond of charity, Christ in all, and by all, may be glorified§." The grounds of peace, therefore, in ages of faith, were very different from these that were established in later times, when political diplomacy was exclusively concerned in adjusting the pretended equilibrium of population and territory, in con-

* Ad an. 1113.

† Hor. Car. i. 21.

‡ Plato de Legibus, xii.

§ Ap. Baluze, i.

sequence of which doctrine sovereigns began to watch each other with a jealous eye, having that kind of mutual esteem and confidence which exist among those lesser powers, which are concerned with the highway * ; being as ready to court alliance with a usurper and murderer, like Cromwell, as with a Saint Louis, having no scruple to cause a revolution in another state, if it could benefit their own, as when the Emperor and King of Spain secretly favoured that of England, with a view to separate England from France, and whose reply to any of the old Catholic arguments in favour of peace, might be given in the words of Northumberland, “ that were some love, but little policy.” The religious republic of the Venetians, when oppressed with the weight of their war with the people of Camertes, renounced a triumph over many princes, when Othoman, Emperor of the Turks, offered them an army of 30,000 men, because they said they would rather fall under the standard of the cross, than conquer under the crescent †. Even Grotius extols the pious words of Fulco, Archbishop of Rheims, to Charles the Simple, “ who would not shudder,” he exclaimed, “ at finding you wish to contract friendship with the enemies of God, and by a detestable treaty to use Pagan arms to the destruction of the Christian name! for it matters not, whether you be the ally of Pagans, or the worshipper of idols.” Cervantes ascribes this spirit to the young Spanish lover, Ricarede, who resolves within himself never to draw a sword upon those united with him in the bonds of the same faith. When Elizabeth, the English Queen, requires him to signalize himself by some heroic act in her service, that he may receive from her the hand of Isabella—he refuses. The thought of such hostilities fills him with horror, and he exclaims, “ never will I engage in such a service.” This was the old feeling : the heroes of the Carlovingian romances make war only in defence of Christians against the Mahometans, “ and in this respect,” says Fauriel, “ they are only a mirror of chivalry till the end of the thirteenth century, while it was under the religious influence ‡.” Don Antonio de Guevara, Confessor to the Emperor Charles V., in a

* St. Victor, *Tableau de Paris*, iv. l. 3.

† Palatius, *Aquila inter Lilia*, l. xi.

‡ *Origine de l'Épopée Chev. du Moyen Âge*.

letter to a noble commander, reminds him of this distinction. "Lord Marquis, if your camp had been before Jerusalem, we should have esteemed your cause just, but since it is before Marseilles, we esteem it scrupulous. I hesitate not to declare that there can be no war between Christians so justified, as not to be ground for scruples. I wish to promote your salvation, and not to applaud you."

The complaint of Milton was the cry of millions in every country during ages of faith, whenever a king or feudal prince came forward to open the purple testament of bleeding war. We have their letters and their chronicles, their solemn pleadings and their official acts, all repeating words like his,

"——O shame to men, though under hope
Of heav'nly grace and God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
Among themselves, and level cruel wars,
Wasting the earth, each other to destroy."

When Gloucester asks Henry VI. if he is willing to establish peace with France, that King replies, "Ay, marry, uncle; for I always thought it was both impious and unnatural, that such immanity and bloody strife should reign among professors of one faith*." Expressions like these, I am aware, may be found on the tongue of poets, and of eminently just men at all times; but what is singular in the history of the middle ages is, that they were then strictly diplomatic phrases and practical maxims, adopted by rulers and statesmen, and by all writers, whose works were invested with a political and positive character.

Childebert being in Spain, having besieged Saragossa, made peace with the citizens for no other reason but from discovering by their processions that they were Catholics. Oderic Vitalis pretends that William the Conqueror used to admonish the Norman knights not to oppress the vanquished, who by the profession of Christianity were the equals of the conquerors†. What finally induced Lothaire to submit to Louis and Charles, and seek to conclude a lasting peace with them, was more than the horror of making war against his brothers,

* Hen. VI. i. 5.

† Lib. iv.

the consciousness of his offence against God in having caused discord between the people of Christian states*. Even Edward III. in his letter of defiance to King Philip, of Valois, in 1340, declares his desire "that our Lord may make peace more and more between Christians†." All thought of union and political concord in Italy in the middle ages, was a religious thought. It was under the title of St. Mary the Glorious, that brother Bartholomew, of Vicenza, founded at Bologna the military order, the office of which was to maintain in harmony the different Italian cities. The Platonicians used to say that the end of peace was friendship. In ages of faith, by peace was understood not a cold political alliance, while covert enmity under the smile of safety wounds the world, but real Christian love. So in the Chronicles of St. Denis, we read that Philip de Valois, in 1344, seeing the troubled state of his kingdom, began to be pensive and full of care, seeking how he could remove from his kingdom all hatred, and establish it in true peace. But let us hear the diplomatic acts. In the treaty of peace between the Venetians and the Count Sicard, and the people of Edessa, they say that they will observe with them "peace and most true charity‡." The first article of the treaty between the Venetians and Paduans, in 1373, concluded with these words, "but now that the cause of evils has ceased, the effects ought to cease also, and both parties should rest in perpetual charity and peace, assisted by the clemency of Jesus Christ, who when about to ascend to the Father, said to his disciples, "My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you§." The treaty of peace made in the city of Lodi on the 9th of April, in 1454, between Francis Foscara, Doge of Venice, and Francis Sforza Visconti, Duke of Milan, begins with a solemn invocation of the holy and undivided Trinity, and then proceeds thus: "since the word peace is sweet, and the thing itself most salutary, which alone in human affairs is named good and delectable, and since the enemy of the human race always

* Nithardi Hist. iii. ap. Script. Rer. Franc. vi.

† Chron. de St. Denis, 1340.

‡ And. Danduli, Chronic. lib. viii. c. 15. p. 7. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. t. xii.

§ Raphagni Caresini Contin. Chron. And. Dand.

watching to malignity, had sown certain errors, discords, and scandals, between the illustrious Duke and dominion of Venice, and the illustrious Duke of Milan, which led them to open war, which occasioned infinite robberies, burnings, wounds, homicides, and other horrible crimes, the parties desiring and intending to live pacifically in fraternal love, and to remove all matter of war, sent orators and delegates, and at length in the city of Lodi, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, solemnly came in this manner to agreement and peace*.” Again, letters of the Venetians to the Doge of Genoa are to this effect, “too long have we been waging hateful war against each other. What are you doing, dearest brethren? You are Italians, and what is a still greater bond of charity, Christians. You have not to contend with the perfidy of schismatics, or the blindness of Saracens, or the ferocity of Tartars. We both adore the one God, the one Christ, one Redeemer, the testator of peace—of that peace which we seek from you. Lay down then your arms with which you offend God, and while you seek to conquer others, gain a victory over yourselves. Lay aside the anger in which you have more than sufficiently indulged, and grant to us, your brethren, who lament with all our souls, the calamities suffered by the people of both our states, the benefit of peace†.” The eloquent writings or harangues of modern authors and senators, who seem most satisfied with their argument for peace, when they have cited some heathen testimony ‡, have but little resemblance in this respect, to those of Catholics in ages of faith. Let us take an instance from the latter. Paulus Guinisius, who by the aid of the Duke of Milan had gained the chief power in Lucca, afterwards assisted the said Duke in his war against the Florentines. When it was a question at Florence, of making war upon Lucca, not only for that reason, but also because he as a tyrant hated Florence, and that therefore it was a measure of safety to attack him, Nicolas Uzano spoke as follows: “It is the ancient sentence of the wise, excellent fellow-citizens, that those who assemble in a place

* Ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xvi. p. 1010.

† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1587.

‡ Vide Schoockius de Pace, and Grotius, passim.

of this kind to deliberate, ought to be free from all mental disease, and obnoxious to no perturbation. To me he seems to be the best citizen, who, consulting for peace and tranquillity, refers all his thoughts to the public welfare. We ought all to agree in following that sentence, by observing which we can be secure of a happy issue; nor if there should appear any vain hope of future good, ought we to rush on to act in a manner for which we may afterwards have reason to repent. And of all wars the event is uncertain, especially of those which have no object but its lust. Renaldus has exhorted the people to this war, which he thinks useful and capable of being conducted at small expense; but it seems to me a better counsel to prefer peace, rather than the opinion of those who make light of sowing wars after wars, despising the advantages of tranquillity. Wars ought to be undertaken in order that we may live in peace, not that we should be involved in fresh evils; for it would be a continued calamity, if we were always to be eager for engaging in new wars, at the very name of which I wonder that we do not all shudder if we remember what has past. As for the arguments of Renaldus, that peace is to be suspected, I answer that there is nothing which cannot be misrepresented. What more certain good, more salubrious than peace? What virtue more acceptable to God? What more useful than leisure and concord, what more desirable than quiet? I truly prefer peace, and dread the prosperous fortune of the tyrant, when it is certain that God must favour those who resist, rather than those who commit an injury, those who defend themselves, rather than those who attack through cupidity. It is not a just cause which impels us to this war, unless the desire of domination be a just cause, unless the crime of ambition be an excuse. Paulus Guinisius has taken part against us in this war; but ought the innocent citizens to be punished for the crimes of a tyrant whom they detest? If we have cause of indignation against him, ought a whole city to suffer for what has been done by a faction? What will you have to answer to those who may be injured by this war, without having ever injured you? By no divine or human law are we permitted to seize what belongs to another. There is a just cause when we have to defend our country, and the issue of such wars is generally

happy ; but unjust wars are rarely crowned with victory. Infamy and hatred follow them. Therefore I exhort you not to heed the counsels of those who advise you to this war, merely in order to make their profit by it, and who care not who conquer, so that it be protracted, that they may the longer receive pay. It is my opinion that we abstain from unjust arms, and that we should rather for sake of our own honour, endure the past injuries of the tyrant, with an equal mind, than through vengeance attack an innocent and deserving city. I pray God to inspire you with that resolution, which may conduce to the honour and safety of our country *."

See how many principles of the Catholic religion are here appealed to before senators ;—the need of interior purity in political deliberations, the sin of wars for domination, the necessity for determining public measures by the rule of pleasing God, the good of quiet for a people, the duty of a nation to bear with the injustice of an enemy, rather than neglect charity to his subjects, and the infamy of disturbing peace between Christian states.

CHAPTER X.

WARS, however there were in ages of faith reputed just, of which the pacific in this world of cruelty did not complain ; they may be divided into distinct classes, but it will be expedient in the first instance to investigate their general character, and perhaps even those who turn with pain and shuddering from all ordinary records of the grating shock of wrathful iron arms, will stop to hear us tell with what pacific thoughts war in ages of faith was begun, carried on, and finished.

Wars were then begun by careful and solemn scrutiny of the justice of the cause. Thus we read of the Marshal

* Poggii Bracciolini Hist. lib. vi. ap. Mur. tom. xx.

Boucicaut, "before he begins a war, he considers well whether the grounds be or be not just and sufficient *." Speaking of the impiety of the Paduans in making war upon Venice, a contemporary writer observes, "that such discussions should not be committed to artisans and mechanics, or consequently to their representatives, who only look to their own chances of gain, but men should hear the continent and sober, who are not quick to determine on war in any cause; knowing that it can never be undertaken with integrity, unless for a great and just cause †."

"We earnestly intreat the royal majesty," says the Abbot Suger, in his letter to King Louis, "not to make war rashly against the Count of Anjou, whom you have made Duke of Normandy, without first taking counsel from the archbishops and bishops, or the chief men of the state; for if you do any thing hastily, you cannot afterwards escape from it with honour, or perfect it without great labour. But since you have convoked your men for this purpose, let there be delay until you hear the advice of those who are sworn to advise and assist you with all their strength ‡." The advice of such counselors would resemble that ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais, in these words: "the prince ought to have peace with all foreign nations, far and near; nor ever ought he to make war, not even when they provoke it, unless through necessity, and for some very arduous cause. He ought carefully to consider what are the evils of war, what perils to the republic, what troubles of minds, what oppressions of the poor, what destruction of goods, devastation of vines and corn, conflagration of towns, slaughter of men, rancour and enmities in future, and the loss of innumerable souls §." "Peace should result from the will, war from necessity," says St. Augustin ¶. Such were the principles. The necessity, however, might arise, and accordingly, as the school remarked, Christianity sanctions the profession of arms. When our Lord received and praised the Centurion, he did

* Le Livre des Faicts du M. de Boucic. p. iv. 4.

† Ferreti Vicentini Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

‡ Sugerii Epist. cl. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.

§ Spec. Mor.

¶ Epist. 207.

not require him to abandon it * ; nor did the Prince of the Apostles require it in Cornelius after he had baptized him † ; nor did the Baptist, who instructed soldiers, condemn their profession ‡. “Think not,” says St. Augustin, “that no one can please God who ministers with arms of war. They were borne by that Centurion, who said to our Lord, ‘non sum dignus.’” “Be pacific in war, that you may lead those whom you attack, by conquering, to the benefit of peace,” words cited by Anselm, of Mantua, defending Pope St. Gregory VII. against Guibert.

“Battle is allowed by the divine law,” says the author of the Tree of Battles, “for battle, in its legitimate sense, is a medicine, having for its end to turn dissensions into peace.” The judgment of the middle ages, however, was not calculated to make men think lightly of undertaking war. “If a man die in battle for the church,” says the same authority, “and is not otherwise in mortal sin; or if he die in battle, in any just war, he is saved; but if it be in an unjust quarrel, he is in the way of damnation and goes to hell. Men of arms are not necessarily enemies of God, for by good works, maintaining just causes, they may acquire the love of God.” So also Cæsar of Heisterbach says, “If men fall in a just war, or in defence of their country, no evil then befalls them §.” “Not every aggression of war,” says Gilles of Rome, “but only just war, makes men brave ||.” But no one was suffered to deceive himself on this point. “Some excuse their homicides in the late war of princes,” says the Penitential of Raban Maur, “as not being voluntary, because they were committed by order of their princes, and in conformity to the judgment of God; but it is necessary for those who desire to defend this nefarious slaughter, to consider whether in the eyes of God they can be excused as innocent, who through avarice, which is the root of all evils, and compared to the service of idols, and for the sake of the favour of their temporal lords, despised the eternal Lord, and disregarding

* Matt. viii. 3.

† Acts x. 1.

‡ Luke iii. 14.

§ Illust. Mirac. lib. xii. 15.

|| Ægid. Rom. de Regim. Prin. ii. 1. 9.

his commandments, not by accident, but with full intention, committed homicide. Therefore they must see whether by chance they may not be in the number of those to whom the prophet said, “ Woe to you who call evil good, and good evil, light darkness, and darkness light, bitter sweet, and sweet bitter.” He who expects pardon from God, without doing condign penance for evil works, is an erring penitent ; and if he hasten to deceive others, he is bound by a double evil. But it is to be observed, that there is a great difference between him who endeavours to subvert the tranquillity of Christian peace, and him who contends with arms to defend equity against iniquity, of which many examples are found under the old law, and under the new testament, which can teach us what we are to think of such contention *. What then were the legitimate causes of war ? On this point there was no want of instruction. “ An army is constituted,” says Dionysius the Carthusian, “ to defend the country from external enemies, and from those who would cause internal seditions, or from those who would oppress the weak and the poor †.” Hence, as De Bonald observes, “ the military service of nobility was that on horseback, as being more defensive than offensive : society in ages of faith had to preserve what was its own, not to extend it ‡.” The preference for a force of cavalry was deemed by the ancients to indicate an unstable and effeminate character. An infantry, in fact, as an instrument of aggression, has always been the force of democratic or despotic states ; whereas a cavalry, by the nature of its composition, is chiefly available in the defence of domestic hearths. The Romans, with their invincible infantry, invaded all nations who had only infantry to oppose to them ; and they found an insurmountable barrier to their progress in the Parthian cavalry §. An infantry, therefore, unless under the strong control of a public sense of religious obligations, is a source of danger for mankind, as was seen in late times, as soon as the old Pagan spirit had gained the ascendancy.

* Pœnit. Rhabani, 4. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq.

† De Vita et Regim. Prin. iii. 31.

‡ Legislat. Prim. ii. 4.

§ Ibid.

That a war should be lawful, St. Thomas requires three things: the authority of the prince of the state, a just cause, and a right intention in the combatants, that they have in view the public good or the defence of the Christian religion, or some other just cause. Therefore the desire of injuring or of avenging, or the lust of rule, or the disposition to rebel, must be absent from the mind. "Ambition and avarice," says Dionysius, "easily grow upon men, unless they be extirpated by the fear and love of God; and domination is infamously perilous. Therefore wise princes will never seek to extend their territories, knowing the consequent responsibility. They will remember that whatever is contrary to the spiritual love of God and their neighbour, is mortal sin, and therefore they will tremble at the thought of that tremendous judgment which awaits all those who attack the dominions of other princes, and disturb the people committed to them, and afflict the poor. Consequently, before a war a prince will diligently inquire from men who fear God, whether there be certainly a just and sufficient cause*." "The king who undertakes a war," says another guide, "ought not to confide in material force, as in the power of a great army, but in God; and he ought to begin by good counsel; for sense is better than force†." Guy de Bremen spoke the general sentiment of these ages when, in reply to the Duke of Burgundy, who asked him, what he thought should be done with the hostages of Liege, which some proposed to put to death, he said, "My lord, I think that above all things we must have God on our side, and therefore we must deliver them." So Guillaume des Barres said to Philip Augustus before the battle of Bouvines, "Dieu vous aidera, car vous avez droit en ceste besoingne." And the Norman knights at Melfi replied to the herald of the Greeks, "We confide more in the mercy of God than in the multitude of our men." Murchardt, King of Leinster, hearing of King William's threat to make a bridge of ships wherewith to invade Ireland, asked of the reporter, after a long pause, "Hath the king added to his threats, 'If it please God?'"

* De Vit. et Reg. Prin. iii. 36.

† Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 32.

“No,” was the reply. “Then,” said he, “I fear not his coming.”

The cause of war being proved just, we find that it was undertaken with every demonstration of loving peace, and hating war. “Kings and princes before making war,” says Dionysius, “are bound to confession*.” And King Henry with our poet says, “Let every soldier in the wars do as every sick man in his bed, wash every moth out of his conscience:” that is, they were to begin in charity with God and man. Solemn and significant customs prevailed to express this. Such was that visit to some holy convent before a war, to take leave of the martyrs there enshrined, and receive its pacific banner, to be borne as a pledge that the conscience was at peace with God. Louis le gros was a valiant king, yet when he went to take up the peaceful oriflamb in the abbey of St. Denis previous to hostilities, he was seen to weep; and when the emperor retreated without a battle, intimidated by the preparations of the French, the king rejoiced more than if he had gained a great victory, and carried on his own shoulders in procession the reliquaries of the abbey, shedding abundant tears†. The sobs and groans of Philip Augustus before the martyrs, when he was to receive the oriflamb, are expressly mentioned in the great official history of the chronicles of St. Denis‡. “The cause, however, being just, the prince,” says Dionysius, “not proudly trusting in himself, may go forth to battle with magnanimity, that is, with cheerfulness and delectation to fight; for to contend and die for justice is meritorious of eternal life§.” Hence the principle of all chivalry, according to the language of Provence, was what was termed joy; which meant a generous magnanimity, enabling the soul to rise superior to all the miseries and vices of the world: and thus in the Spanish code joy is prescribed as a duty to knights, which explains the Italian word “un tristo” to signify a wicked man. It is in this sense that the sword of Charlemagne was called “joyeuse||.” Accordingly we behold such warriors receiving on their

* De Vita Militari, 3.

† Ad an. 1190.

|| Ampère, de la Chevalerie.

† Hist. de Suger, iv. 280.

§ De Vit. et Reg. p. iii. 38.

departure the benediction of the sons of peace, whose impressions on those occasions are so beautifully described by the poet who represents the old monk after the embarkation of Bruce.

“ As up the hill his path he drew,
He turn'd, his blessings to renew ;
Oft turn'd, till on the darken'd coast
All traces of their course were lost ;
Then slowly bent to Brodick tower,
To shelter for the evening-hour.”

With this prudent, just, and in desire peaceful commencement, the conduct of war was strictly to correspond ; and here it is to be observed, that the pacific spirit evinced by Constantine to the soldiers taken in war was a new feature in military history*. “The prince and his army,” says Dionysius, “before and during a just war, must be in charity, and for this end they should have cordial contrition for their sins, and go to confession, and then they may go securely to battle, having a right intention, viz. to fight for the common good, to please God, and to be remunerated by Him, all which motives are necessary to soldiers, for otherwise they would be in mortal sin. In battle they must, above all things, take care, lest they should feel any envy against their adversaries ; for if they were to admit such passions, they would sin mortally, and be eternally damned if they should be slain†.” “Every Christian,” he says, “is bound to love with a true and spiritual love every man living in this world ; that is, to wish their eternal salvation. Therefore the prince and his army, when about to engage in battle, ought on no account to cease from this spiritual love of their enemies, whatever they may have done, otherwise they would be fighting in mortal sin. Thus Charlemagne, while fighting against the pagans,” that is, defending Christian peace against them, “loved them, and sought their conversion, as did Oger, when combating the Danes‡.” In his treatise on the military life he speaks thus : “Vegetius says that a general should endeavour to sow discord amongst his enemies ; but this does not seem lawful to Christians,

* Euseb. de Vit. Const. ii. 13.

† De Vit. et Reg. Prin. iii. 39.

‡ Id. iii. 42.

for it is contrary to charity; and it is a perilous thing for a man to act so, especially when in such danger of death. Moreover, Vegetius says, that a general before a battle ought to excite his soldiers to a hatred of the enemy by representing all that they have done against them; but this again is unlawful for Christians, who are bound to desire the eternal salvation of their adversaries, and to love in them every thing but what is opposed to justice and to peace*." These were not the speculations of a recluse unrealized in the military profession or in the deeds of princes. That absence of hatred in the midst of battles, that forgetfulness of self, that direction of the intention—all these Christian virtues which he requires were knightly and kingly qualities, the existence and exercise of which are incontrovertible facts of history. The designation of Bologna in mysterious lore, "*Pia civitas in bello*," was not the exclusive merit of one state. Our Henry III. had many wars with St. Louis, king of France, "yet," says an historian, "they never broke in upon the Gospel as to brotherly love. And, though King Louis, by the great advantage he had over King Henry, often obliged him to make submissions, (a thing not very agreeable to persons exalted in power,) yet this was so far from exasperating the latter, that, in any other matter not regarding the point in debate, Louis was the great friend and adviser to whom he applied himself." Now to observe how soldiers in the very battle acted, let us hear Orderic Vitalis: "King William penetrated into France as far as Pontoise, and with a great army laid siege to Chaumont, ordering his steel-clad soldiers to carry it by assault. The illustrious soldiers of the place defended their fortifications with vigour, and did not lose sight of the fear of the Lord, and the duties of humanity. They spared with care and goodness the persons of the assailants, and directed all the fury of their anger against the horses of the enemy, of which they killed more than 700; so that many knights who had crossed the Epte gloriously on foaming chargers were obliged to return on foot with their king." On the death of the Conqueror, Gaultier and Haimeri, besieged in the citadel of Mans by Helie and Foulques, Count of Anjou, after some days, proposing a truce,

* *De Vita Militari*, 12.

spoke as follows to Helie, who had permission from them to approach safely as often as he chose, clad in white : "We keep this citadel," said they, "which our master confided to us, well provisioned, and we fear neither you nor your machines. We can hit you with our arrows and stones, because, being on this high tower, we are so much above you, but, through fear of God, and through friendship for you, we spare you *." The public opinion in the middle ages agreed with the sentence of Cervantes, "The most honourable victories are those which are the least bloody." "Truly," says Don Antonio de Guevara, writing to Don Inigo de Velasquez, Constable of Castille, "I find no greater victory than that which is gained without effusion of blood. Believe me, Seigneur Constable, clemency and piety never broke a lance in war but a sanguinary captain is either slain or sold." We are told with surprise that the war song of the Spaniards, who in our age have been compelled to arm in defence of their country, might be taken for a hymn to peace.

"Viva la paz ! viva l'union !

Viva la paz y Don Carlos Borbon † !"

In this respect the soldiers of Zumalacarregui only evinced the desire which was formerly evinced in all just wars. One might take for a monastic chaunt, invoking rest and security, the rhythm that used to be sung by the soldiers who guarded the city of Modena about the year 924, when the Hungarians invaded Italy :—

"O tu qui servas armis ista mœnia,
Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila.
Nos adoremus celsa Christi numina,
Illi canora demus nostra jubila.
Illius magnâ fisci sub custodiâ,
Hæc vigilantes jubilemus carmina.
Divina, mundi Rex Christe, custodia,
Sub tuâ serva hæc castra vigiliâ.
Tu murus tuis sis inexpugnabilis,
Sis inimicis hostis tu terribilis.
Te vigilante, nulla nocet fortia,
Qui cuncta fugas procul arma bellica.
Tu cinge hæc nostra, Christe, munimina,
Defendens ea tuâ forti lanceâ.

* Lib. x.

† Henningsen's Campaign.

Sancta Maria, mater Christi splendida,
 Hæc cum Johanne, Theotocos, impetra.
 Fortis juvenus, virtus audax bellica,
 Vestra per muros audiantur carmina :
 Et sit in armis alterna vigilia,
 Ne fraus hostilis hæc invadat mœnia.
 Resultet Echo comes : eja vigila,
 Per muros eja dicat Echo, vigila *."

"The Paduans," says an ancient historian, "becoming effeminate through riches and luxury, began to seek aggrandizement and glory, and hence unjustly took up arms against the Venetians, whose conduct on this occasion showed admirable forbearance and a strong desire of peace. To their first outrages upon the borders, the Venetians replied by calm remonstrances ; but their ambassadors were sent back with insult. Nevertheless, the senators, without being moved by the furious words of the Paduans, sent other ambassadors, who spoke these words, 'It is not right to lay stress on doubtful things until they have been justly discussed, lest, perchance, a little matter should grow into a great controversy ; therefore, excellent men, whom the immense ambition of novelty torments, avoid doubtful cases of war, lest through the pride of prosperity you should have God against you. Suffer us to live quietly, and to use without molestation what was conceded to us of old by your authority.' The Paduans remaining obstinate, and both sides being prepared to use force, Peter Gradonicus the doge sent letters secretly to apprise the Paduans of the very day in which he intended to invade their territories, which he did in hopes of deterring them, but in vain, for they resisted to their own discomfiture†." Let us hear the great manual of warriors in the middle ages to remark what peace was provided for multitudes even amidst the calamities of war. "If the King of France be at war with the King of England," says the Tree of Battles, "and there should come a student from London to Paris to study and take degrees, can he be made prisoner ? I answer, certainly not ; for the law gives express privilege to scholars, and forbids any grief or displeasure to them, commanding on the contrary, that all honours and

* Muratori Antiq. Ital. xl.

† Ferreti Vicentini Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

reverence should be shown to them; for it would be discourteous and outrageous to do displeasure or villany to a scholar who comes from far and strange countries, leaving relations, friends, so many delights and worldly pleasures, in order to learn science; and it would be cruel and inhuman to do them any outrage, seeing that they are thus naked, powerless, far from their own country among strangers. The servants of scholars should be similarly exempt from arrest. If an Englishman should come to Paris to see his son, a student, who is sick, he ought not to be made prisoner; for God knows if a Frenchman had a son in such a predicament in London he would do as much for him, and we ought not to do to others what we would not have others do to us. If a father should come to Paris to bring clothes, books, or money to his son, he ought not to be made prisoner, nor if his brother or near relation should come to the scholar should they be arrested. A madman should not be kept prisoner, for he is to be considered as no one's enemy. An old man upon hostile territory, having strayed to hear mass in some chapel, should be suffered to return free, as should also a blind man, for he is a privileged person, and a child, for he is ignorant and innocent, and whoever would demand ransom should not be styled a gentleman, but a robber. Can the French in a just war imprison a bishop, or abbot, or other monk of England? I answer, they cannot, for such men cannot aid their seigneurs in war. Why then should they be arrested? for the office of clergy is separate from all human wars, for the service of God, and they cannot wear arms, so that it would be little prowess in a Christian to assault or imprison them, since their only weapons are tears, and business to administer the sacraments to the people of God; but if any clerk should go of his own accord to war, and be taken, he may be required to pay ransom; or if a bishop should advise his king to war, and afterwards be taken, he may be required to pay great ransom and penalty, to be determined, however, by the Pope, for it was his duty to have exhorted his sovereign to live peaceably, without wishing to have war with any one. As for pilgrims who fatigue their bodies in order to contemplate and revere holy places, or saints there, these are under the special safeguard of the holy father of Rome, and may proceed to accomplish their

vow in any country throughout Christendom wherever their devotion may lead them. Equally secure are they in war, or peace, or time of truce, and in this all laymen have the same privilege as churchmen; and this is decreed through reverence of God and of his saints, whose pilgrims they are; and whoever lays a finger on them goes against the ordinance of the Pope, and sins mortally, and incurs excommunication: so that the richest merchant of London may travel to St. Denis in time of war without any safeguard from the King of France. Finally, all labourers may securely pursue their occupations in time of war without any molestation to themselves or to their animals: and a man of arms who should touch the poor unarmed peasants would be not a knight, but a wolf, and unworthy of all knighthood. So that, in short, bishops, priests, chaplains, deacons, and other clerks, mendicant friars, recluses, hermits, pilgrims, and labourers, are at all times in safety, whether it be war or peace, and need no safe conduct." Here then we see how many of the pacific were partially exempt from the consequences of war; for it must be remembered that before the use of modern inventions the calamity did not necessarily fall upon all persons within its reach: so that the persons excepted by the fathers of the council of Rheims in the twelfth century could reckon with confidence on a real positive result. They said, "Let clerks, monks, convertites, strangers, women, and those who belong to them in their company, be in perpetual peace. Let flocks, herds, husbandmen, dressers of vines, and merchants be always at peace, independently of what is called the truce of God*." In Switzerland we find the custom noticed of giving previous notice before commencing war, and of publishing the laws of war. The contending powers swear through their chiefs to plunder or burn no church, to injure no woman, or child, or man dedicated to religion, and without permission not to spoil the vanquished†. The virtues of peace were not suspended in time of war, but seemed only to have acquired fresh vigour. After describing the ordinary alms of the Paduans, a writer in 1330 adds, "from these and similar works of piety no

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

† Ildefons Von Arx Geschichte, S. Gall. ii. 616.

adversity of wars, no rapacity of exactions withdraws them, unless they or their churches are totally despoiled*.” Thus, in 1314, amidst the desolation of war, we find the Chancellor of France, John de Dormans, Bishop of Beauvais, making a foundation wholly pacific for the good of the people of Soissons, to aid the college of the diocese†. In England, during the more warlike reigns, we find foundations of peace rising up everywhere. “It is scarcely credible,” says one historian, “that a nation distracted by continual wars should give so much attention to the cause of religion as we find was done during this reign of Stephen.” Charity burned in war itself; for nothing was more common than to see men then trusting their lives to their personal foes with a confidence of being treated as brothers, as when Paul Leca was delivered by his mortal enemy, Judicelli Casamaciola, when he fled to him from the Genoese, as is related by Cyrnæus in his history of Corsica‡. With respect to men who were personally to be engaged in wars, it should be remembered that in the middle ages there were exemptions which no longer prevail. After public penance it was contrary to the laws of the church that any one should return to the military profession, as Pope St. Leo declared to Rusticus of Narbonne. Here then were others consigned to peace. Muratori is convinced that under the Longobards, even in times of war, all men were not obliged to serve in arms. He thinks it certain that the Longobard kings evinced moderation in the choice of soldiers. Under the Carlovingsians the exemptions were more difficult; but servants and men who could plead poverty were excepted, though the former were enlisted as soldiers by the Visigoths. In 1340 the custom of exempting all but such as were hired soldiers is praised as among the laudable institutions of the Visconti’s§. The possessors of ordinary fiefs as Castellains were only bound to a service of forty, or at most of sixty days. Fiefs of knights owed only twenty, and those of halberts only ten days’ service. One effect of the communes was, that neither the king nor the feudal

* Anon. Ticinens. de laudibus Papiæ, 15, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

† Hist. de Soissons, ii. 234.

‡ Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xxiv.

§ Antiq. It. Diss. xxvi.

lord could require the military service of any inhabitant unless in defence of the city *. In 1315 the nobles of Champagne told the King of France that they doubted whether he had the right to lead them to war beyond their province †. “The serfs who labour in the fields for the corn and vines cannot be compelled by their seigneurs to go to war,” says the Tree of Battles, “for they must not be subjected to a new servitude.” In the seventeenth century in France the enrolment of soldiers was voluntary on their part, and only for three years. The mode of raising recruits was the same as that still used in England ; but there was even a difficulty in being received, for there were many cases of exception in favour of districts and employments which rendered men ineligible ‡. Revolutionary wars had not then commenced, when men of arms were to approach the foot of the altar to tear away the children of the choir for conscripts. “If it appear strange,” says Stephen Pasquier, “that in our time a King of France can hardly raise an army of thirty or forty thousand men, and that the ancient Gauls reckoned their armies by a hundred or two hundred thousand, I answer, that the cause of it is the difference of police, the one teaching principally to brandish swords, and the other to manage a pen ; for as our ancestors marched in such crowds to battle, so our kings could sooner raise two hundred thousand men of literature than thirty thousand men of arms §.” In the cities of the middle age we find no provision made for the residence of armies within their walls. The evil of universal soldiership, deplored by Cowper, was unknown in ages of faith ; and he might well deplore the innovation ; for “man, associated and leagued with man by regal warrant, or swarming into clans beneath one head for purposes of war, becomes a loathsome body most at variance with all moral good.” As for men, so for days there were exemptions. “Battle cannot be given on a festival, excepting in cases of necessity.” Such was the rule ||, though St. Thomas extends these so as almost to invalidate it. Philip Augustus and the French barons were unwilling to fight at Bovines on a Sunday. “I am

* Script. Rer. Franc. tom. xiii. p. 480.

† Michelet, iii.

‡ Monteil, Hist. des Français, vii. 93.

§ Recherches de la France, i. c. 3. || L'Arbre des Batailles.

less anxious to fight," said the king, "because that sacred day should not behold effusion of blood." At the Naves de Tolosa the Saracens were ready to fight on Sunday, but the King of Spain was unwilling, through reverence for the holy day. In 1288, the citizens of Cologne sent to their enemies to say that they would give them food for two days if, for the honour of God, they would abstain from fighting on the next Sunday, and for the sake of His mother on the present Saturday, that they might celebrate them worthily; which offer was, however, rejected at the instigation of Henry, Count of Luczenburg, who exclaimed, "Alas! we are not to have a glorious battle this day on account of a timorous clergy." They fought, and this count was slain*. Philip de Valois was dissuaded from fighting the English at Buironfosse on his arrival, because it was Friday†. The truce of God was therefore founded on a general sense of the duty of sanctifying many days. But at length the force must be exercised. Let us see with what spirit it was animated. The laws, and duties, and reasons of war were treated on in the middle ages, as Grotius remarks, by those who made sums of cases of conscience‡. At the religious revolution of the sixteenth century these ancient guides were of course abandoned; and certainly from that epoch the consciences of men seemed to be but little concerned in any question of military operations. To explain his motive in writing, Grotius says, "I saw through the Christian world a shameless license of making war; for trivial or no causes men running to arms, and then showing no reverence of Divine or human law, but, as if by edict, committing every kind of wickedness with fury§." His own work, however, in many points, presents a contrast to the scholastic treatises. Contrary to their sentence, he decides that an innocent citizen may be given up to destruction to save a city when a superior force requires it||; while they had provided even for the deliverance of the state, in such a case, saving its honour, by teaching that the innocent citizen ought to give himself up rather than cause the destruction of the country. Again, he seems

* Gesta Bald. de Luczenburg, ap. Baluze, Miscel. i.

† Chroniques de St. Denis, 1339.

§ De Jure Belli et Pacis, proleg.

‡ Prolegom.

|| Id. ii. 25.

to think that the plunder and violation of churches is lawful in war, supporting his opinion by heathen testimonies *; and speaking of some most atrocious heathen laws respecting prisoners, he only says, "I do not dare without distinction to approve of them †." Towards the close of the middle ages, however, some works appeared expressly on the subject. It was by order of King Charles V. that the Prior Honoré Bonnor wrote, under the title of *L'Arbre des Batailles*, the first treatise on peace and war. The *Rosier des Guerres* was composed in the reign of Louis XI. Still the schoolmen were the chief authorities. The blessed doctor, to explain his having taught the art of war, concludes with these words, "Supposing, therefore, that kings and princes have a just war, and that their enemies unjustly disturb the peace and common good, it is not inconvenient to teach them all kinds of warfare, and all ways by which they can conquer their enemies, all which they should ordain to the common good and peace of the citizens; for if their intention be so directed, they will deserve that eternal peace in which is the supreme rest which God, who is blessed for ever and ever, has promised to his faithful ‡." In this very art itself, as taught in the middle ages, the influence of pacific thoughts can be traced opposing irrational fury and the reckless destruction of human life. Soldiers were excited to combat, not like animals, by noise and instruments of Turkish invention to act upon the organs of sensation, but as men under the control of conscience, by eloquence and poetry; for valour was to be grounded upon reason and the result of calm resolution. "The general," says Dionysius, "should encourage his soldiers before the battle with magnanimous words, full of Divine hope, as did Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver, Guilielmus, Oger, and others §." Such were those of the prayer offered aloud by Philip Augustus before the battle of Bouvines, and those which he addressed to his army, saying, "Our trust is in God. Otho and his host, as enemies and destroyers of the Church, lie under the Pope's ban. The tears of the poor, the sentence of the Church, the sighs

* Id. iii. 5.

† Id. iii. 21.

‡ *Ægid. Rom. de Regim. Prin.* iii. p. iii. 23.§ *De Vit. et Regim. Prin.* iii. 40.

of the monks rise against them. We, though sinners, are in the communion of the church: we fight for the freedom of the clergy, and therefore we believe that God will give us victory." The reproach of Achilles to Æneas, "you who threaten *οἶνοποτάζων* *", could hardly have been addressed to a general of the Catholic school. Charles and Louis before the battle of Fontanet, after representing to Lothaire the horror of the intended battle, and their ardent desire to avoid it, proposed to prepare for it by fasting. It was the ancient custom for combatants to go to confession, and receive their Saviour before going to battle. After becoming obsolete it again revived, and continued through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as may be seen in the historians of the battle of Bouvines and of the crusades. As Scipio used to lead philosophers and poets in his expeditions, lest he should be influenced more by popular opinion than by virtue †; so in the Christian camp were found monks and holy almoners, whom a sense of duty brought to dubious verge of battle, to direct, to shrieve, and to console. The chaplains of regiments were generally Franciscans ‡. On the manner of making war in the middle ages, Muratori treats §. Not every mode was then deemed just. If the old knight described in Gyron le Courtois were now to rise up and repeat his question, "Comment sont maintenant les chevaliers qui se deduysent et soulassent en la mortelle chevalerie ||?" He would be horror-struck by the information that would be given to him; not so much perhaps from hearing that the individual is now regarded only as a cypher in the account, (though remembering Richard the Lion-hearted's boast in a letter to the Bishop of Durham, "with a lance we prostrated Matthew de Montmorenci ¶," even this discovery might pain him,) as from finding that encouragement was given to a reckless indiscriminate slaughter of men, and that all scientific contrivances for effecting it, were in a military point of view, deemed fair.

In the second Lateran council under Pope Innocent II. in 1139, the use of arrows and cross-bows against Chris-

* Il. xx. 84.

† Cardan de Sapiencia, ii.

‡ Monteil, Hist. de Français, vii. 120.

§ Antiq. It. Diss. xxvi.

|| Gyron le Courtois, f. ccxxxvii.

¶ Rym. Act. i. 31.

tians was forbidden, under pain of anathema. The words of the 29th canon are, “*artem autem illam mortiferam et Deo odibilem Ballistariorum et Sagittariorum adversus Christianos et Catholicos, exerceri de cetero sub anathemate prohibemus;*” and Muratori proves, that the prohibition was intended to hold equally, whether the war were just or unjust. Until that time, the Franks in battle used only the lance and sword; but when they returned from the crusades, they brought back with them the use of arrows and javelins, and other missiles, against which the Lateran council raised its voice, as being too deadly. That the French long after abstained from it is clear from William the Briton, who describes the war of Philip Augustus against the Count of Flanders, in 1184; for he says expressly, “that the king had not in his whole army any who carried such weapons.” Yet Muratori proves that it was not a novelty at the time of the council of Lateran, so that the fathers only sought to extirpate a usage which was beginning to be more prevalent, in consequence of the communication with the east. The bow or balista used by the Saxons had fallen into disuse in England, as Grose remarks, till revived by William the Conqueror. In consequence of the decree of the Lateran council it was again laid aside during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II.; but it was revived by Richard I. in his wars against the French, and his death by an arrow was deemed in consequence a divine judgment.

Finally, wars were terminated with a pacific spirit, as even material monuments attest; as when at Bovines, according to the general custom, a chapel was erected on the field of battle, in which mass was ever afterwards said on the 27th of July, for the repose of the souls of the slain. Sometimes even retreats for the pacific arose upon the field, as at Battle in Sussex, where a stately abbey marked the spot where Harold and the Saxons fell by the Norman spear. Wars were terminated with humility in the conquerors, and without malice or envy in the conquered. In 1406, on the fall of Pisa, Ginus Capponus, the Florentine, spoke in these terms to the vanquished. “All things whatsoever He wished God hath done in heaven and on earth; nor is it for us to know why God wisheth this or that. We know only the effect and the event, from which it is clear that God wished the

Florentines to conquer the Pisans; which whether for your sins or for our merits, we know not, God knoweth it. We wish to keep possession of your city, merely in order that along with us you may have rest and peace, which experience shows you cannot hope for while divided. Nor should you fear our domination, for the Florentine people has not wished to exercise the right of war, but to preserve you in all things. Therefore your city being conquered by so great an army has sustained no injury; nor have the conquerors otherwise behaved than as the most continent of Christian men. From such a beginning you should confide in the future. Lay aside all anger and jealousy, and submit to what God has willed; and we have often seen peace and lasting friendship, follow war. The fathers of our republic have decreed that all injuries shall be forgotten, and that henceforth they will ever salute you as their children." Then Bartholomew Piombino replied in the name of the Pisans. "The great benignity of God our Saviour hath appeared, who not for the works that we have done, but according to His great mercy has saved us. These words should be pronounced with a sincere heart by all the Pisans, who must remember that whenever we have fallen into the power of the Florentines, they have always evinced towards us in their victory not only kindness, but a most singular love. It is a great thing to conquer powerful cities, and great and rich states; but to temper victory, and preserve the conquered, is almost a divine virtue, for it resembles the mercy of our Saviour, who forgave his enemies. Therefore we all return thanks to the people of Florence, and if any should foment discord, we denounce them as impious; for in wishing to keep what you have now acquired, you only do what we ourselves would have done if similarly circumstanced. We hope that after such grace, the Pisans may remain ever faithful and affectionate to Florence*."

But it is in the men themselves who were employed in war, that we have the most remarkable proof of the influence of the love of peace. We must now consider, therefore, what was the ideal and reality respecting the profession of arms in ages of faith. The change in

* Matt. Palmerii de Captivit. Pisarum, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xix.

the military character which resulted from the change of religion, or from the loss of faith, has been often remarked. The Catholic church formed the men whom we shall shortly see, whose souls were their own, while monarchs had their duty; Protestantism made captains, brave indeed and virtuous, like La Noue, but often cruel in cold blood, and austere less in manners than in spirit. It formed Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII. and Frederic *. It is to a type and practice of the military profession, wholly different from theirs, that we must now direct our attention.

“Soldiers are instituted for this end,” says Alanus de Insulis, “that they may defend their country and repel from the church the injuries of the violent†.” Such was the definition in the twelfth century. The exercise of arms, even for the defence of one’s country, and of religion, was thought to require a religious vocation, without which it was not lawful to draw the sword‡. “The duty of a soldier,” says John of Salisbury, “is to defend the church, to resist the perfidious, to guard the poor from injury, to pacify the province, to shed his blood, and lay down his life for his brethren. The sword is in his hand, not to serve fury, vanity, avarice, or his own will, but that he should do the will of God, and serve the public good; and this is also the glory of the saints; and soldiers doing this are holy, and promote their own real glory, by seeking in all things the glory of God§.” Such was the universal doctrine. Michael Savonarola, writing even so late as in 1440, has only praise for such soldiers as serve from a desire to defend their country, and to deliver the poor and weak, who are no small part of their country, from oppression||.” And Don Antonio de Guevara, in his letter to Don Inigo de Velasquez, constable of Castille, tells him not to trust to the justice of his cause, in war, unless those who conduct it are themselves unspotted; so that Shakspeare makes our Henry the Fifth excuse himself by a plea which the school had judged unsound.

The pacific instructions given to soldiers in the middle ages disclose a wonderful disparity in the opinions of

* Chateaubriand.

† Sum. de Arte Prædicat. c. 40.

‡ Joan. Sar. de Nugis Curial. vi. 7.

§ Id. vi. 8.

|| Comment. Savon. Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xxiv.

those times with later. "A soldier," says one teacher of the duties of military life, "must always pardon offences against himself, and disregard personal injuries, and aim only at defending the general good*." "Soldiers," he continues, "are to contend for justice, and to be ready to lay down their lives in resisting the enemies of the common good, in defence of the Christian faith, and of the public peace, and to protect the weak and miserable; therefore to soldiers must belong an especial and great perfection of charity; and if slain in the exercise of such duties, they are counted amongst martyrs, as was shown to St. Thomas when he desired to know the state of his brother's soul, who had been a great baron, and slain in the defence of justice and of the liberty of the church. The office of a soldier consists principally in the exercise of mercy, for it is his office to protect the poor, and all weak, wretched persons against oppressors, and to resist the enemies of their temporal and spiritual welfare; and as this is the highest charity, we must conclude that it includes the perfection of the Christian religion†." Ratherius, preceptor to Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, the brother of the Emperor Otho I. speaks as follows: "Do you wish to be a Christian, a good Christian, out of many Christians, and are you a soldier? Then attend to the advice of St. John the Baptist to those of your profession. But if you cannot get wages for militating, then gain your food by the labour of your hands, and fly from plunder, homicide, and sacrilege; for the Lord will exercise vengeance on all who commit such things; and think not to make friends of the mammon of such injustice, for God will never accept your oblations, if made from the spoils of the poor‡." St. Stephen, of Grandmont, used to give this counsel to soldiers. "My brother, if you wish, you may gain Christ, when you go forth to plunder; but let it be the constant intention of your heart, to keep a vow in this manner: O my God! I am going thither not to injure another; nay, I consider myself on this expedition only as your soldier, seeking to save all, companions and strangers. Meanwhile, when thus compelled by your

* Dionys. Carthus. de Vita Militari, 5.

† Id. c. 2, 3.

‡ Ratherii Veronensis Episcop. Præloquiorum, lib. i. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.

earthly lord to join these parties, hasten on as if you were a plunderer, and cause every one that you see to fly, or if they must be taken by some one, do you be the first to seize them, in order that afterwards you may set them free : and so now while you observe this custom, you are a monk of Christ concealed under a shield *.” You perceive how alive were the guides of these ages to the evils naturally belonging to the military life, recognized with such precision by the ancient philosophers and poets, as when Plato speaks of the valour of mercenaries without approval †, and Plautus of that Ephesian hero :

“ Gloriosus, impudens, plenus perjurii atque adulterii ‡.”

What is singular in their history, is the success with which the true pacific laboured to counteract them. But exist they did in every form, from that of the “ cankers of a calm world and a long peace,” to that mentioned by St. Bernard, saying that “ while men usurp glory they disturb peace.” There were the soldiers of our Norman kings, thus described by Peter of Blois. “ They are nourished in delicacies, and more eager for plunder than for fighting. When they return from an expedition without a scratch, they set-to at a drinking bout, they slander innocent men, God’s servants, comparing their wonderful labour to the easy life of priests.” There were the “ Societies” in Italy : there were the Ribauds, on whom the crime of the massacre at Beziers must be imputed, as appears from a poem lately published by Fauriel : there were men like the soldiers of Cæsar after Pharsalia, when at his voice, blind with the thirst for gold, they madly prepared to rush over the dead bodies, and trample on the mighty dead § :” there were others like those whom Spain and Portugal have lately witnessed, who thought it mattered little to the fame of a soldier, whether he fought on the wrong side or the right, provided they fought boldly and received their pay. There were the soldiers of the heretic Eccelino de Romana, who evinced a ferocity unheard of in Christian

* Vita St. Steph. Grand. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.

† De Legibus, i.

‡ Mil. Glor.

§ Lucan, vi.

times *, worthy followers of that monster whose character is summed up by the monk of Padua in these few words: "he was the enemy of peace, and alien from the Catholic faith †." But all that could be expected from the church and the friends of peace, was conceived and realized in the middle ages. In the first place the evil was denounced, so that ignorance could not be a plea. The Catholic religion had decided that no kind of life was more flagitious than that of men who militate merely for pay, without respect to the justice of the cause, to whom, "*ibi fas ubi plurima merces ‡.*" O forbid it, God, would be the cry, "that in a Christian climate, souls refined should show so heinous, black, obscene a deed!" Hence the indignant words of Godfrey, when, as conqueror, he refused the spoils:

"I set no rent on life, no price on blood;
I fight, and sell not war for gold or good §."

"To militate is not a crime, but to militate for the sake of booty is sin," say the decrees of Ives of Chartres ||. "If a man of arms goes to war for the sake of pillage, can he demand pay? I reply that he cannot," says the author of the Tree of Battles; "for no obligation of law or equity can result from things dishonest, wicked, and condemned. Companies who go to war in unjust quarrels without a prince, like those who do not know why they are in the field, are enemies of God, as are all who pursue wars from avarice, to gain honours and riches, or through disobedience, as when subjects are proud and unwilling to live at peace with rulers. Can a man who goes to war for vain glory, demand pay? Suppose a knight, wishing to show his valour, attacks a proud knight, who wars against some lady widow; can he ask pay? I answer no; for I cannot discover in what form he could draw up his petition. He could not allege a command, nor the having rendered her a service, since his chief motive was to render himself a service in demonstrating his valour and strength, which he has done. What more then

* Rolandini de factis in March. Tarvis. v. 10. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. viii.

† Mon. Pat. Chronic. ap. id. viii.

‡ Soto in v. Bellum, i.

§ Tasso xx.

|| Decret. p. vi. c. 125.

can he ask? Certes I know not how he could ask pay." "What do you think of soldiers?" asks the disciple in a dialogue ascribed to St. Anselm. The master replies, "Few are good; for they live by plunder, whence they purchase lands and possessions; and of these it is said, *Defecerunt in vanitate dies eorum, ideo ira Dei ascendit super eos**."

But it was not enough to denounce the evil. It was to be corrected, and nothing could be more simple than the manner in which the clergy and the ministers of peace proceeded to accomplish their task. The plan may have been suggested by an observation likely to be made by them, which is thus expressed in the *Tree of Battles*. "Through many motives are men valiant; for one will be valiant to win vain glory, another because he sees the brave honoured, another to serve his Seigneur, another from being accustomed to wield arms, another from having good armour, another from confidence in his leader, another merely by natural fury, another through ignorance, another through avarice, another from the hope which he has in God. Now you should know for certain, that among all these men, he alone is virtuous, who is brave through right knowledge, and from a will directed to justice." In these words, one discovers the whole secret of that chivalry which played such a memorable part in our history.

"Chivalry, in its first developement," as Fauriel remarks, "was an attempt by the clergy, to reform in the interests of religion and society, the feudal and warlike class." The council of Clermont in 1025, after the first crusade, decreed that every noble of more than twelve years of age, should swear before the bishop of the diocese to defend the weak, to protect widows, orphans, women, whether married or not, and travellers. This was to impose chivalry on all through charity; and in fact chivalry and charity were to be synonymous. Chivalry, never exclusively aristocratic, for in its purest age it received recruits from the popular class †, was an institution of peace; to protect the victims of war, and to obviate by individual exertions its necessity. The formula of the military profession delivered in 1252 at Frankford, to William, Count of Holland, on

* *Elucidarii*, lib. ii. 18.

† *Ampère de la Chevalerie*.

being elected King of the Romans, shows its religious character. "This is the rule of the military life; daily to hear the celebration of our Lord's Passion, to deliver the holy church from its oppressors, to protect widows and orphans in their necessity, to avoid unjust wars, and to reject iniquitous stipends. Such were the terms*." Knights were generally created on great festivals in order that the multitude of people assembled, might, by their prayers to God, obtain graces for them to enter well upon their career. The whole of the ceremonial bespeaks the object to which it was directed; and the history of many centuries bears witness to the good which resulted. On the defects of the chivalrous character I had occasion to speak in the first book; upon its virtues we have not space at present to dilate. The dissertation of Muratori upon the institution of knights may be consulted†. That generosity of a Du Guesclin to enemies, which so endeared him to them—that love and respect evinced for each other by men who were opposed in war, as when the English lamented his death, and the Marquis of Pescara that of Bayard—that willingness to admit the merit of an adversary, as when the old knight in the Romance of Gyron le Courtois, declares that the most perfect knight he has ever seen, was his personal enemy, for whose death he has wept and mourned, till he thought he should have died‡, that deep consciousness of fulfilling a ministry of love and honour, which every office of the church contributed to strengthen and exalt—these were features of the military character in the middle ages, which fully justified the remark of Don Antonio de Guevara, that "to be a knight and to be a good Christian, are two things which agree very well together in the law of our Lord Jesus Christ. Believe me," he adds, "Seigneur, heaven is filled with knights, and hell with fools." The romances of chivalry, as Fauriel remarks, are in one sense historic sources, inasmuch as they represent an entire system of manners which really existed§. The Carlovingian Romances, which are still

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. v. 97.

† Antiq. It. 53.

‡ F. xciii.

§ Origine de l'Epopée Cheval. du Moyen Age

for the most part contained in old manuscripts difficult to decypher, represent the first age of chivalry when it was thoroughly religious. Those of the Round Table indicate an alteration, their object being to magnify love; though religion still occupied too much place in the world, not to enter into them of necessity as an accessory. In many of these love is treated according to the purest and most delicate ideal, free from sensuality, and offending not marriage. However, the champions of peace disappear in them, to make room for men who are only the counterparts of Achilles; who will resign treasures without fighting for them, but who, if there be an attempt to touch that on which they have set their heart, will resist to the last, and suffer no one to take this from them. Thus the eternal opposition between the priest and the warrior, was only silenced for a time, and chivalry itself became in opposition to the church in later days, when its gallantry predominated. The distinction between the chivalry of the Graal, and that of the world, or of the Round Table, will explain many passages of history which might otherwise lead to misinterpretation and error. Nevertheless, that even independent of the chivalrous system, a pacific mind had characterized the military character during ages of faith from the beginning, is clear from innumerable examples. They occur early, as under the old civilization in St. Victor, the warrior of Marseilles, and St. Martin, and that celebrated conqueror of the Goths, Narses, who never gave battle without having wept the night before in some church into which he had retired. Similarly among the barbarous warriors, on first embracing the Christian religion, many illustrious instances are found. Witness the noble Ecdicius, of heroic fame, who no less charitable than brave, fed four thousand poor during a famine, with the produce of his estates*. Vectius was another of these soldiers. "His whole household," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "imitates his virtues. Nothing of corruption in his indulgence, nothing of harshness in his severity, which is so tempered as to be melancholy rather than sad. He reads the Holy Scriptures frequently, above all at his meals; he recites the Psalms often, and sings them oftener. It is a kind of

* Greg. Tur. Hist. ii. 24.

life quite novel. It is an accomplished monk under the tunic of a warrior." Speaking of Robert, Duke of Normandy, a true peace-maker, the *Chronicles of St. Denis* say, "he was greatly renowned for his victories, and for his works of mercy*." William of Jumiege describes Drogon de Coutances, son of Tancred de Hauteville, as eminent for Christian sentiments, as well as knightly valour†. We find many soldiers praised for their pacific works. Obizo, that glorious warrior of Brescia, in 1180, whose charities and gracious acts might be read of in the convent of St. Julia, used to go into the woods and cut down timber, and carry it on his shoulders to the cottages of the poor‡. Speaking of the restoration of the church of St. Saviour, at Blois, Peter of Blois says, "Gaufridus, the soldier, though with slender means, but eminent for nobleness of soul and blood, a most faithful imitator of the Samaritan in the Gospel, has shown mercy to the clergy of Blois, whose sorrows priests and levites despised in passing by. His name shall be in memory from generation to generation, and his house shall inherit a blessing for ever§." When we see men building churches, it is as natural to conclude that they loved peace as to believe that they are pacific, when we find them devoted to gardening, like Girardot, who after being a musketeer of Louis XIV. conduced so greatly to the advance of horticultural science in France. Bertrand, born in the castle of Setio, son of Raymund, and of the daughter of the Count of Toulouse, who was surnamed Cut-steel, when a soldier, sedulously followed the manners of blessed Martin, studying by every mode to relieve the misery of the poor, doing no evil to any one, pious, modest, peaceable, remote from all movement of anger, provoking no one, despising no one, so that he was loved by noble and ignoble, rich and poor||. Another of these pacific soldiers was blessed Hugo de Lacerta, in the twelfth century, who was afterwards disciple of St. Stephen of Grandmont. In all the wars in which he was obliged to serve, it was his constant reso-

* Ad an. 1031.

† Lib. vii. 30.

‡ Jacob. Malvecii *Chronic. Brixianum*, Dist. vii. 65. ap. Mur. *Rer. It. Script.* t. xiv.

§ Pet. Bles. *Epist.* lxxvii.

|| Vita St. Bert. ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* vi.

lution to do nothing contrary to the law of God, rendering to God the things which are God's, and to Cæsar those which are Cæsar's. He used to make fly those whom he was unwilling to capture, and to be the first to seize those whom others would have captured, in order that he might dismiss them in safety *. The reader will recognize in this description the attentive scholar of St. Stephen, whose instructions we heard above. Of Henry, Mareschal of France, in the time of Philip Augustus, the Chronicles of St. Denis say, "that he was a man worthy of praise in chivalry, and who above all feared God †."

Over the gate of the castle of Castelleti was an inscription to commemorate the virtues of John Lemeingle, Marchal de Boucicaut, who built it ; and in this there was express mention of his love of peace : for one line was

"Trans hominem solers, et pacis cultor et æqui ‡."

The book of the deeds of this pacific warrior, as a true picture of chivalrous manners down to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, possesses a great historical importance. Let us hear its testimony. One great object of his life is to procure peace for the Church by pacific means; "for in matters that relate to the soul and conscience, no one should be constrained by force, nor ought one to wish to do it; for it should come from pure free will, nor does God wish to be served through force §." "He is void of cupidity, and liberal of his own. Whoever aspires to high degree must be without cupidity to amass riches. Never, in all his life, did he acquire seignury, lands, or heritage, and even he makes small account of his own patrimony. So it is clear his thoughts are elsewhere ||. His conversation is always on God and the saints, or on some good example of chivalry ; and never does there escape his lips a word in the least injurious to another, nor will he listen to such ¶." "The virtue of justice shines in him wonderfully. No one can better practise it, though he never uses undue

* De Vita B. Hugonis de Lacerta, ap. id. tom. vi.

† Ad an. 1214.

‡ Stellæ Annal. Genuenses, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xvii.

§ Le Livre des Faicts du M. de Boucicaut, p. iii. 3.

|| Ibid. iv. 6.

¶ Ibid. iv. 7.

rigour or cruelty to any creature born; and it is marvellous to consider how, by the means of one knight, so many insolent and rebellious people, accustomed to fear nothing, can be brought to discipline and peace*.”

“He is not alone just, but piteous and full of compassion, as ought to be every brave man. Never does he refuse any one, whatever evil he may have done him, if he asks mercy†.”

“He rises very early, in order to employ the greatest part of the morning in the service of God. He spends three hours in prayer. After the business of the day he goes to vespers, and spends the rest of the evening in conversation, and then retires to finish his service. On Sundays and festivals he makes pilgrimages on foot, and hears read fine books of the lives of saints, or speaks to persons of devotion.”

In Spain and Italy men of precisely the same type were found. What pacific warriors were Francis Carminiola, who commanded the Venetian army, and Francis Sforza, general of the Florentines; the latter of whom re-established peace among all the princes and republics of Italy with the highest praise and glory; and after all his wars governed the people with such mildness, justice, and incredible charity, as to be worthy of everlasting renown and honour‡.

Who would omit mention, while pursuing this theme, of Obertus Doria, so often victorious at sea, and so glorious for governing Genoa with holiness and justice? Who of Lucian Doria, who gave the silver cups of his table to relieve his needy men; and when one rower asked assistance, and he had nothing else to give, took off the stud of his own belt and gave it to him? Who, again, of Guillelmo Embriaco, a name not to perish, who commanded the fleet of Genoa in Palestine, and was the first to mount the wall of Cæsarea, and who chose nothing for his share of the spoils but that emerald vase from Solomon’s temple which is still preserved in the cathedral of St. Lorenzo§? Shall I remain here longer, waiting, like Ulysses, on the shores of the dead, to see

———— εἴ τις ἔτ’ ἔλθοι

Ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων, οἳ δὴ τὸ πρόσθεν ὄλοντο ||.

* Ibid. iv. 8.

† Ibid. iv. 9.

‡ Benedict. Accolti Aretini de præstantia virorum suæ ævi Dialog. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital.

§ Jacob. Bracellius de Claris Genuensibus, ap. Ant. It. i.

|| xi. 627.

We must not delay. Let us proceed with the assurance that each of these brave men, who so often walked in meek procession under banners breathing only penitence and peace, would under colours, too, have repeated from the bottom of his heart the words of Nestor :

Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,
Ὅς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου, ὀκρυόεντος*.

As Cato said of the Roman citizen in the olden time,

“Prætulit arma togæ ; sed pacem armatus amavit †.”

In conclusion, we may remark that blazon, that pompous reminiscence of the tented field, while under Catholic influence, besides inspiring religious thoughtfulness, was not without symptoms of the pacific desire. Some of the ancient mottoes, though cries of arms, were full of amiable poesy, and seemed to bring the remembrance of peace into battle. Such was that of the Sire de Prie, “Chants d’oiseaux ;” and that of the Sire de Cullent, “Nôtre-Dame au peigne d’or !” Those of the Dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Gueldres, of the Counts of Foix, Vergy, Auxerre, and Hainault, and of the Sire de Coucy, were “Our Lady,” with the name of their fief added. The symbolism of pride, in some countries, has survived that of Christian peace, which found men to bear it meekly but steadily amidst the wars and disorders which desolated society in the middle ages ; but one cannot altogether reject such testimony to the truth we are here investigating.

We may now proceed to consider the three kinds of war which pacific men waged and sanctioned in ages of faith, which were wars for justice, wars for mercy, and wars for peace.

To the first that blessed thirst we before spoke of no doubt contributed, while peace itself required them. The Platonician of old says that “the end of war is justice.” Such was the avowed and real object of many wars in the middle ages. Thus it was the love of justice which determined Duke Lewis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, to engage in long and costly expeditions to defend the rights of his subjects and avenge their injuries. Hence, in 1225, he passed into Poland, and be-

* ix. 64.

† Lucan. ix.

sieged the castle of Lubantsk, because some of his merchants had been robbed near it; and some time after he marched into Franconia, to obtain reparation for injuries inflicted on a pedlar*. You smile: but so alive were men to a sense of justice in those times, that no sacrifice seemed too great when it was a question of redressing a wrong inflicted on the weak. When the crossed knights of Thuringia returned with a resolution to reinstate St. Elizabeth and her son in her domains, we read that they feared if they were not to do so, lest they should merit the eternal fire of hell. The words of the Sire de Varila, who commanded them, to the usurper, Duke Henry, show how necessary it was thought to correct injustice by all means possible. "Alas! young prince," he exclaimed, "what have you done? Fi! what shame! I blush to think of it. Know that you have offended God, dishonoured all the country. A rude peasant would not have wrought such felony against an equal. Your act cries vengeance to God; and I fear his wrath will fall on the whole land unless you do penance. Reconcile yourself to this lady, and restore to your brother's son what you have usurped." The young prince burst into tears, and promised to restore every thing. "'Tis well," replied Varila; "there is no other way of escaping the anger of God†." Similarly, when Venice sent to interpose between the Paduans and Eccelino de Romana, one of their envoys, Marcus Quirinus, told the tyrant to his face, in presence of his brother Alberic and his friends, that men invested with power, if they desire glory, must abstain from unjust wars; and that if they do any thing against justice, they must be quick to retract and give satisfaction‡. Even for some deplorable contests which afflicted society in the middle ages, it is but fair to remark that justice was the avowed object of the combatants, although they may have misunderstood the cause. After the death of Louis le débonnaire, Lothaire rested his pretensions on the title ascribed to him of emperor, and the justice of maintaining the unity of the kingdom. Being defeated in the terrible battle of Fontanet, near Auxerre, by his two brothers, Lewis and Charles, the victors spared the fugitives, and promised oblivion for all

* Montalembert, *Hist. de S. Eliz.* 97.

† Ibid. 192.

‡ Laurentii de Monacis Ezerinus, iii. ap. Mur. *Rer. It. Script.* viii.

past offences. Finally the two kings and the army, afflicted at having come to battle with a brother and with Christians, asked the bishops what they ought to do in consequence. The bishops assembled in council, and delivered this judgment : that, having fought for justice, they were exempt from guilt ; but that if any one, according to the testimony of his own conscience, had counselled or acted in this war through anger, or hatred, or vain glory, or any other sinister motive, he ought to confess the sin, and perform whatever penance would be imposed on him *. Lothaire continuing to make war, his two brothers met at Strasbourg, and declared, in their address to the two armies, that it was not an unjust ambition which made them act so, but that they wished if God, by means of their army, would at length give them rest for the public welfare. The oath taken by them to sustain each other began with these words : “For the love of God and for the Christian people,” “Pro Deo amor et pro Christiano populo,” which showed, at least, on what avowed principles they acted. Again, it is but fair to observe that the wars of Edward III. and Henry, in France, had so much claim to be included in this category, that, as Stephen Pasquier remarks, some Frenchmen lost their lives ignominiously for asserting the justice of their cause. Suger, indeed, alluding to some pretensions of William II., had well said that it would be neither just nor natural that the French should be subject to the English, nor the English to the French † ; but when Philip de Valois received the crown, it was by virtue of what the Flemings called a new law, the Salic being then known in no other nation. Its origin in Gaul was doubtful : there had never before been occasion to apply it, the crown having always descended to male heirs. It was not in force in the duchies and counties which were members of the crown of France, as was seen when Matilda, mother of Henry II. of England, inherited the duchy of Normandy ; and when Leonora, his wife, brought to him by her right Aquitaine and Poictou ; while the right of women to govern France as regents was unquestioned ‡. That the grounds for these wars were insufficient, we have already seen. It is only argued

* Nithardi Hist. lib. iii. ap. Script. Rer. Franc. vi.

† Vita Ludovic VI. ap. Duchesne, iv.

‡ Recherches de la France, liv. ii. 18.

now that there was some excuse for them; and that, at least, the object alleged in their defence at the time was nothing else but the resolution to maintain justice. Let us proceed to consider the wars which were carried on through mercy. The justice of these, which it pleases some modern theologians to place in rather an equivocal light *, has been admitted by the gravest authorities among those opposed to the Catholic Church, as by Grotius, who defends and extols their real principle †. The men who heard Foulque de Neuilly and St. Bernard had a difficulty of another kind; for what perplexed many of them was the call to forsake amusements and vices and iniquitous wars for the ways of penance and of charity. That they were about to be cruel and intolerant by taking the cross would have been a very convenient thought for some, but unfortunately such a pretence never occurred to any one; for the true grounds of the crusades, which rendered it impossible, were always shown. "By what right," asks the author of the Tree of Battles, "can we make war against the Saracens or other infidels? I will prove that we cannot do it lawfully on account of their being infidels; for God has made the goods of the earth for all human creatures indifferently, for the bad as well as the good. The sun is not hotter for one than for the other; the land of the miscreants produces as good corn as that of the Christians, and God has given them empires and kingdoms. But if God has given them this, why should Christians deprive them of it? Moreover we should not, and cannot, according to holy Scripture, oblige infidels to embrace the holy faith and baptism, but must leave them with the free will which God has given to them. Therefore we cannot make war upon them to compel them to embrace the holy faith, 'car par force ne doit homme estre contraint à la foy croyre:' but since the infidels have taken possession of the country and oppressed the Christians who are in it, the Christians may recover it from them by arms." The religious question, indeed, had been decided by the decrees of councils; as by that of Toledo, which forbade force to be employed for such a purpose, adding "cui enim vult Deus miseretur, et quem vult in-

* La Hogue de Ecclesia, 211.

† De Jure Belli et Pacis, ii. 15.

durat." The political, or rather the question of mercy, required only a statement of facts to be decided by the common voice of Christians, as men. Hear how one who had witnessed the condition of the Christians in the East, speaks of the dangers to be apprehended. "Behold how we are pressed on all sides. How shall we be able to live securely in this corner of the land of the West? We shall have nowhere to fly but to the sea. That is the end. Alas! if you had zeal for God, you would compose your differences, and arm in defence of the Church? Why do you exercise yourselves in these tournaments, which are forbidden, cruel, expensive, and to souls very dangerous*." Not intolerance or blind religious zeal, but mercy, therefore, led to the crusades, which were originally undertaken through compassion for the Christians oppressed under the yoke of the Saracens, and from a desire, according to the tradition of all Christian times, to redeem them from slavery and the extreme peril of losing their souls, consequent on their position. The ambassadors of the Emperor Alexis, in the council of Placentia, convoked by Urban II., represented only the afflictions of the faithful in the East, and the terrible servitude with which they were menaced if those of the West did not succour them. In all the treaties made with the infidels the redemption of captives was always one of the first articles†; and the success of the faithful in this respect is attested by the number of those treaties concluded with them to that effect. Innocent III., who had the crusades so much at heart—who commanded that vessels only of wood or earthenware should be placed upon his table, during their continuance, and had the gold and silver plate of his household melted down to supply money for the armament—began his pontificate by instituting the order for the redemption of captives, and giving the cross to them before any of the warriors whom he sent to Palestine; and finished it in the same manner when he saw the failure of the Christian arms, by sending monks and briefs to all the princes of Europe, to excite them to deliver their brethren. The argument he used was to remind them of the terrible maledictions pronounced by the prophet upon those who lived in abundance, seeking only to satisfy their love of repose,

* Nicole, *Le Grand Voyage à Jerusalem*, f. cx.

† *La Tradition de l'Eglise pour le Rachat des Esclaves*, 118.

and who remained insensible to the affliction of Joseph. "Remember," he said, "how the Lord has sworn their destruction, which shall be so entire that there will not be found a man to bury their bones;" and certainly it indicates no spirit inconsistent with the blessed pacific, when having their minds filled with such reflections men left their lands and castles to suffer for their brethren in the East, who were stretching out their hands to them for assistance. "Woe to us, woe to us," cried the fathers of the council of Clermont, when they heard an account of the cruelties inflicted on them by the Saracens. The universal Church, assembled in councils, wept at the misery and peril of the captives. If she armed princes to deliver them, it was from the same motive which induced her to send monks to redeem them. Hear the terms of the indulgence published by the sovereign pontiff to the faithful in the council of Clermont. "Let every one who has zeal for the glory of God unite with us. Let us help our brethren: let us break their bonds. Let us cast off their yoke. Cancel, by a work so agreeable to God, the robberies, fires, and homicides, which exclude from the kingdom of God; in order that by pious works and the prayers of the saints you may obtain indulgence. Have compassion on the afflictions and labours of your brethren, for we are all members, one of another, heirs of God and co-heirs of Jesus Christ*." The letter of Alexander III. to princes, knights, and all the faithful of Christ, is no less explicit as to the motive which should animate the crusaders. It begins with these words: "Amongst all things which in the course of mortal affairs the divine wisdom has disposed for the exercise of charity, not easily can any case be found in which charity can be exercised with more fruit and merit than if the necessity of the Oriental Church be provided for, and the faithful Christians of the East defended from the attacks of the pagans; for if the Creator of men and angels bowed the heavens, and came down and underwent the death of the cross for our salvation, it remains that no one should live any longer for himself, but for Him who died for us and rose again, and delivered himself up for us as an odour of sweetness unto God†." "The sufferings of the Christians in the Holy Land,"

* Guill. Tyr. i. 15.

† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 747.

said St. Gregory VII., in one of his letters, "make me wish for death."

That the bearing assistance to oppressed Christians as to fellow members of one mystic body, was the real principle of the crusades, appears evident also from the spirit of the princes and people who obeyed the summons of the Popes. Hence in ancient works, as in the Chronicle of Halberstad, the crusade is named "*Mysterium*," as of an imitation of the passion.

The Chronicles of St. Denis, speaking of Philip Augustus, say that when the king heard the sad news from Palestine, "he had much great pity and much great compassion for the Christian faith, which in his time had suffered such ignominy*." The crusaders did not forget, as Walafrid Strabo remarks in his sermon on the subversion of Jerusalem, "that as Jesus drew near to it, seeing the city, he wept over it†." Suger had advised King Louis VII. against the crusade; but subsequently, when he learned the distress of the Christians in the East, and felt for the late disasters, which would inspire the infidels with fresh courage, after vainly endeavouring to convince his countrymen of the necessity of making a new crusade, he came to the extraordinary resolution of making one himself, and of bearing assistance to Palestine as Abbot of St. Denis, under the standard of the abbey. He made his vow and took the cross, but secretly, until he procured consent from the Pope. Then he selected a body of picked troops, and laid his plan of crossing over at once by sea, so as to avoid Greece. He soon found noble warriors anxious to share in the expedition, but his own death arrived before he had commenced this heroic act of penitence and mercy. The historian of the crusaders of Pisa, who begins with these words, "We have undertaken to record the things which Almighty God has deigned to effect by the Pisan people," shows clearly that of these brave men who gave the spoils to the Church of Pisa, the ruling motive in assisting at the taking of Jerusalem, and again in making war upon Nazaredech, the tyrant of Majorca, was the desire to deliver the Christians who were in captivity‡. Every war against the infidels had the same origin. The letters of

* Ad an. 1192.

† Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq.

‡ Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. vi.

Adelgorius, Archbishop of Magdebourg, in 1110, to the bishops of Saxony, France, and Lorraine, imploring them "to sanctify a war and call the nations to protect that infant Church from the idolaters," dwell for this reason on the cruel sufferings of the faithful*. Similarly the noble letter of Pope Alexander IV., in 1260, to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, desiring him to call a council of his suffragans to deliberate on the best way of resisting the Tartars†, exposes a case for the exercise of mercy, and not of the passions, which lead to unjust war. The Saracens, whom Charles Martel defeated in the plains of Tours, had come out of Spain in such numbers that no one could estimate them; and with all the provisions for effecting a permanent conquest of the country, ravaging all before them with savage cruelty‡: that victory, with the battle of the Naves de Tolosa, achievements which supply a theme worthy of as many tuneful or eloquent lips as Marathon and Salamis were triumphs of mercy and of all her dearest interests; for what would have become of the merciful if the crescent had then conquered? The wars of the Normans in Sicily may be included in the same category. Roger, Count of Calabria, in his diploma to the Church of Catana, in which he says that by God's assistance, without which he could not have succeeded, he has with his army laboured incessantly to acquire the land of Sicily for the work of God, in which labour the number of his soldiers that are dead is known only to God and to his saints, but to him and to all other men unknown§, does not speak like one insensible to the virtues of peace. "I, Roger," these are his words, "have myself planted in this land, which I give to the Church of Catana, forty thousand vines." In the preface to his diploma, in the Church of Messina, he says, "the Lord beheld with an eye of mercy the misery of the Sicilian Church, which suffered so long under the oppression of the Saracens. Happy the day, and for ever glorious, in which the Norman first arrived on the Sicilian shores; for then the Church of God was strengthened, the Christian name exalted, and the clergy and people augmented. Happy land, in which the Christian name and the

* Martene, *Vet. Script.* i. 625.

† *Ibid.* vii.

‡ *Chroniques de St. Denis.*

§ *Ap. Sicilia Sacra*, i. 521.

Christian people have recovered their dignity *." Innumerable places had reason to bless the memory of such warriors. When Lisbon was possessed by the Moors, and besieged in 1147 by King Alfonso, who delivered it, there were in that war many foreign knights from various parts of Europe, who came there to fight, we are told, for the sake of religion † ; that is, in fact, for the interests of mercy in the truest and highest sense of the term. Of such a war the pacific cannot complain ; though it was for them in later times to raise their voice to denounce other foreign soldiers who met before the same city with arms in their hands, not "*religionis causa*," but rather recklessly to destroy the works of religion, moved by the ignoble passion, against which society can only be protected by scaffolds and the galleys. But, as Michelet says, we have crusaders and a religion of a new kind. We have faith in gold, and the modern hero will risk as much to gain a sequin as Richard the lion-hearted for St. John of Acre. After making all due abatement in consideration of the abuses which crept in, the character of the knights who engaged in these wars for the deliverance of oppressed Christians cannot, on the whole, be regarded with suspicion or displeasure by the lovers of peace. The first care of the Norman knights, on arriving in the south of Italy, was to repair to that famous church which was built in the fifth century on Mount Gargano, to return thanks for having been conducted by the holy archangel in safety. After delivering Gaimar, the Lombard King of Salerno, from the Saracens, who had landed with twenty thousand men to demand their annual tribute, that virtuous prince offered them a splendid recompense if they would remain to defend his people ; but the noble knights refused his recompense. "*Mes li Normant non vouloient prendre merite de deniers de ce qu'il avoit fait pour le amor de Dieu.*" They promised, however, on their return home, to send out others to defend him. What a compassionate spirit breathed in that Hermann Von Salza, elected master of the Teutonic order in the twelfth century, whom we shall meet again among the blessed peace-makers : and in the old mareschal of the order Dieteric Von Bernheim, one of the companions of Hermann Balk, who first

* Ibid. i. 495.

† Damiani a Goes Olisiponis Descriptio.

entered the land, and of whom the old chronicle says, "He was wholly magnanimous—a Ulysses in heart, and a Hector in courage *." To have been impelled to war by passion or their own will, these men would have deemed a crime deserving of signal punishment from God. The chronicles of St. Denis, speaking of some Bretons, who took the cross in 1193, say, "they were men who followed their own will; and, therefore, their undertaking failed."

In 1099, when the nobles and people of Milan collectively assumed the cross on the capture of Jerusalem, injuries were pardoned, mortal enemies kissed each other in the public streets, and a wonderful peace was made, which lasted many years, so that nothing, we read, happened afterwards worthy of notice †. Thus pacific was the commencement of these wars; and those who have made a study of history will conclude that the consequences of the Crusades were pacific in blending together the different classes of society; for to the day when the seigneur and the serf departed without distinction, the grounds of more Christian peace between them may assuredly be traced. Warlike, indeed, was the tone of poets and historians when alluding to these trials. Tasso, inflamed with ardour for the deliverance of Greece, urges the Christian princes to read his poem on the recovery of Jerusalem, adding,

"And in this legend, all that glorious deed

Read, whilst you arm you: arm you whilst you read ‡."

"I do not believe," says Orderic Vitalis, "that ever a more glorious matter was offered to philosophers in warlike expeditions than that which is furnished by the Lord to our poets and writers when He triumphs in the East by the arm of a small number of Christians §. 'Ah! be it told that we forsook so fair a chevisance,' was the general cry.

None thought it grievous, for so good an end,

Their honours, kingdoms, and their lives to spend."

Here was, no doubt, heroism; and hence the pseudo-

* Dusburg. 36.

† Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediol. 153. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

‡ Book i.

§ Lib. ix.

reformers were at great pains to prove the crusades inconsistent with the Gospel of peace. Certainly, as Catholics replied to them, it was more valorous to make war far from one's country in the unknown sandy plains of the East than in the valleys of France to excite subjects against their princes, to surprise them at Meaux, to besiege them at Paris, and to fill all Europe with murders and carnage*. But still, it cannot be justly inferred from the difficulty and grandeur of their enterprise, that those who undertook it ought to be excluded from the number of the pacific. These men, who went to fight, to win or die for Christ their Lord, might have truly said, in the words of Godfrey to the Egyptian ambassador,

“ Think not that wars we love, and strife affect ;
Or that we hate sweet peace, or rest deny †.”

Indeed, the care which the crusaders took before leaving their ancestral towers in Germany, France, and England, to provide for their sepulture in some abbey which they especially loved, might alone convince us that peace was written at the bottom of their hearts. Many take leave of the pacific brethren with sighs and tears, and show, by gifts to monasteries, that wherever they may roam their affections are fixed there. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, setting out for the crusade, and making such donations, says, “ Since through the pious memory of my predecessors I began from the flower of my first youth to love the convent of St. Nicolas at Furnes †.” What a tender religious scene was the departure of the young Duke Louis, husband of St. Elizabeth, from the monastery of Reynhartsbrunn, when he set out for the crusade ! After assisting at Complins, he placed himself at the door by the side of the priest who gave the holy water, and as each monk passed he embraced him affectionately : even the children of the choir he took up in his arms and impressed a paternal kiss on their innocent foreheads. What an affecting look back to one of these houses of peace did the Sire de Coucy cast when he was dying of melancholy after a long captivity in Bithynia,

* *Advertisements des Catholiques Anglois aux François*, 40.

† Tasso, ii. 87.

‡ *Miræi Opp. Dipl.* 563.

having been made prisoner at the siege of Nicopolis in 1397. Perceiving his end near, he wrote his will, and demanded to be buried in the convent of the Celestins of Villeneuve, which he had founded, and his revenues to be employed in finishing the buildings.

The generally-esteemed holy and innocent character of these wars is proof that they were not found inconsistent with the love of peace. John of Salisbury, speaking of the Knights Templars, says, "who almost alone of all men carry on legitimate wars *." Hence, in the very sanctuaries of peace their trophies were unfurled ; as in the abbey of St. Denis, where on a window Suger caused to be painted the chief exploits of the first crusaders. But let us hear how their enterprize is described by contemporaries. Their proclamations of war seem to be invitations to peace, for thus they speak to the warriors around them : "Heaven directs you on the way of peace and safety, and you choose a way of dissension and death. All the ways of the Lord are beautiful, and all his paths peace. Beware, lest the words of the psalm become applicable to you, 'Misery is in their ways, and the way of peace they have not known.' We seek meekness, and not wars, for the Lord will scatter the nations that delight in war, and direct the meek in safety. O how blessed is he who can say, 'God, who hast girded me with strength and made my way immaculate.' O how unlike the sons of Adam, who fight for a transitory kingdom, who, not choosing to have peace with Christ by a just judgment, cannot have peace with each other. 'Levate signum in nationes.' Some, alas ! are signed ; but the light of thy countenance, O Lord, is not signed in them. If they were signed they would mourn for their sins ; but they can receive this sign of Tau only by the ministry of angels. O that He who is the form of beauty, the figure of glory, the seal of life, may seal our hearts with the light of his countenance, and be our portion for ever. I speak not to the rich who cannot receive my words. I turn to the poor. Let the poor hasten, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. The angels will receive them ; yea, the Lord of angels. As yet His house is not filled. Let no one be discouraged by the difficulty of this peregrination. It is a way of penance ; but only by violence can

* De Nug. Cur vii. 21.

we take heaven. Despicable is the possession of earthly things to us whose portion is in the land of the living. If the Emperor of the Romans and the King of France had proceeded with a chosen few, in devout humility, they would have abolished the yoke of the oppressor, and confirmed perpetual peace upon earth. May He who is the way, and the truth, and the life lead back from error those who are signed, and cause them to walk in his ways *."

"*Mansuetudinem quærimus, et non bella.*" Such was the war-cry of our red-crossed knights : can the pacific refuse to recognize them as their brethren ? Even where they began with the evil dispositions denounced by St. Bernard in his admonition to the Templars, with many the result was a divine peace, reconciling them with God. "The holy war," says the Cardinal Bona, "preached by St. Bernard by the authority of the chief Pontiff, and confirmed by signs following, had, nevertheless, to the eye of men, an unhappy end. Men proposed to themselves the recovery of the kingdom of Jerusalem ; but God intended the eternal salvation of those who were slain in that expedition for the faith and for the Church. St. Bernard expressed the affliction of his soul to Pope Eugene, but God consoled his servant when men condemned him as a false prophet : for John, the venerable Abbot of Castelmare, wrote thus to him : "I have been told that you are much afflicted at the result of this expedition to Jerusalem, because the Church of God has not received that glory from it which you desired ; but it seems to me that Almighty God has caused much fruit to follow from this expedition, though not such as the pilgrims expected. Had they prosecuted it as became Christians, justly and religiously, God would have been with them to crown their efforts with success, but as they fell off to evil things, His providence converted their malice into an occasion of mercy ; for he sent amongst them persecutions and afflictions, by which, being purged, they might attain to the kingdom. That I may open myself to you, as to my spiritual Father, in confession, from divine revelation I say that a multitude of angels have been restored out of the number of those who were slain." How many, in fact, are recorded to

* Petr. Blesens. De Hierosolymitana Peregrinatione.

have fallen, exclaiming, like the Marquis of Milan in the old romance, "I would rather die with my friends than renounce the faith *."

"Theodoric de Rulant, a powerful and rich noble, went to Jerusalem," says Cæsar of Heisterbach. "Prostrate before the holy sepulchre he prayed thus: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, who knowest all things, if I am not to amend my former vices, permit me not to return to my country, but grant that I may die here.' A knight overheard him, and said, 'My lord, you have not prayed well. To whom will you leave your wife and children?' 'It is better that I should desert them,' he replied, 'than lose my soul.' After a few days he died, and was joined to the citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem †." But if the spirit of the Crusaders generally was thus pacific in the midst of war, that of the religious orders of knighthood in particular was most eminently and avowedly so; for the express object of their institution was to procure peace for the oppressed Christian people. The King of Jerusalem, we read, granted permission of dwelling near the temple to some poor noblemen, who were thence called Templars. Of these Pope Alexander III. says, in his letter to the Archbishop of Rheims, "They are instituted for this end, that they should not fear to lay down their lives for their brethren ‡." In furtherance of this object, their whole intention and mind were to be at an infinite distance from any desire of renown. Their glory was wholly independent of the result of battles. "From the affection of the heart," says St. Bernard, addressing them, "not from the event of war, can we judge of the danger or of the victory. If the cause of the combatant be good, the end of the battle cannot be evil; neither can the end be judged good where a right intention did not preside in a good cause §." Neither high birth alone nor royal interest could procure admission to the order of the Temple without the personal qualifications required, of which one was a spotless descent. Obedience was as strict as in a monastic order, and no instance of its violation ever occurred. King

* Livre de Baudoyne, Conte de Flandre.

† Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Memorab. lib. xi. 24.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. ii. 883.

§ Exhort. ad Milit. Templi, prolog.

Alphonso I. of Arragon, dying in 1133 childless, left by will his kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre to the Templars and knights of St. John, who faithfully protected them from the Moors. Such confidence did this order inspire, that kings and great men used to deposit their treasures in the houses of the Templars. In France and in England the Templars were guardians of the state treasure. Hence the reports, as Hugbertus Monachus relates, that at their suppression secret orders were given to bury their riches either under their monasteries and castles, or in the woods and fields, in old sewers and wells. Certain it is, as St. Antoninus observed, that the Templars became odious to princes on account of their riches, of which they wished to rob them. It availed but little to allege their charity to the poor, to say that thrice each week alms were given to all comers at the gate of the Temple in Paris. Their crime was unpardonable. In such haste were men to spoil them, that while in custody in Paris they had to pay every time that their irons were put on and taken off for examination, and also for the boat in which they passed from prison to the tribunal. The solemn act which they presented was singularly bold. They asserted that the religion of the Temple is holy, pure, and immaculate before God. The regular institution and observance have been always and are still in vigour. All the brethren have but one profession of faith, which throughout the universe has been always observed by all from the foundation to the present day. "*Et quicumque aliud dicit, vel aliter credit, errat totaliter, peccat mortaliter.*" One Templar had been tortured to make him confess the amount of the treasure brought from the holy land, as if a treasure was a crime. In many countries the decisions of councils were favourable to the Templars. They were declared innocent in 1310 at Ravenna, at Mayence, at Salamanca. The sacriligious Philippe-le-bel evinced the consciousness of crime throughout the whole of his proceedings against them. Aimeri de Villars-le-duc declares, that after seeing the fifty-four Templars led to the pile, his fear of the flames was such that he would have said he had killed our Lord if they had wished him. John de Pollencourt, being encouraged and promised protection if he would say the truth, declared that what he had confessed before through terror was false, and he said that he had been to con-

fession to a friar minor, who enjoined him to bear no more false witness. Only in France were their persons thus inhumanly treated. In England the severest punishment on their refusal to plead guilty was to be confined in monasteries, often merely within their own gates. When the council assembled at Vienne, the bishops refused to condemn them without hearing them. All the prelates of Italy, with one exception, all those of Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, and Ireland, refused, as did also those of France, with the exception of the archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Rouen. The order in fine was sacrificed without the judgment of the council. The execution of the grand master at Paris without the knowledge of the judges was, as Michelet observes, a sheer assassination. It was a stroke to revenge a personal insult—the revocation of the previous confession of his guilt. The question suggested by the fate of this illustrious order of pacific warriors agitated the minds of men long afterwards. “Protesting,” says Trithemius, “that we mean to utter no calumny against the holy see by recording what was done with consent of Pope Clement, I proceed to transmit to posterity the suppression of the Templars, whether justly or unjustly exterminated it is not for us to say; but to the Divine judgment, which cannot be deceived, we commit the cause*.” Gaspar Jogelinus, while admitting that all provinces could not have been contaminated, the innocence of many houses being indeed unquestionable, pretends that the sense of nearly all men condemned them. The contrary was nearer to the fact. While those that were tried before the Pope’s commissioners in Spain, Germany, and England, were all acquitted, the people in general, even in France, believed them to have been innocent, which is a striking circumstance, considering the proneness of men to credit horrible charges against the powerful when fallen. A chronicle in the fifteenth century, after describing the constancy of the knights in maintaining their innocence, adds, “in consequence the lower kinds of people were led into great error.” Many persons collected their bones and honoured them as those of martyrs. Trithemius says, “that God touched the hearts of some who had thirsted for their goods, who

* Ad an. MCCCVIII.

afterwards gave up to the poor what they had gained from them." Many who felt remorse founded soon afterwards colleges and hospitals. If the order was condemned by Volaterrar, Platina, and Dupuy, it was acquitted by St. Antoninus*, Navelerus†, Sabellicus‡, Henry, Pentaleo, Papire Masson§, Father Jacques Dubreuil||, Herold¶, Villani, Lenglet Du Fresnoy, and a host of others. Touron the Dominican speaks, though cautiously, as if convinced of anything but their guilt**. Saint-Victor does not disguise his being partly confirmed in his unfavourable opinion of them by observing the character of the men who have lately come forward in their defence††: but so grave a question ought not to be affected by such considerations; and from a calm examination of the evidence collected by Michelet, who omits no observation that can incline men to credit the charges against them, the impression, I think, upon the whole must be in favour of their innocence‡‡. But we must not remain on this ground so often traversed. Let us proceed to consider the third class of wars sanctioned and waged by the papacy in the middle ages, which cost no just man a repenting tear.

CHAPTER XI.

THE wars which the papacy waged and sanctioned, having peace expressly for their immediate object, were of two classes, wars on the borders to repel invaders, and internal wars to subdue the disturbers of peace. Of the first I need not speak further, than to observe that they include the expeditions of Charlemagne, which sophists of late years have taken such pains to misrepresent. The anterior history and the social state of the

* Par. iii. Hist. Tit. 21, chap. iii.

† Par. ii. Chronograph. Generat. xliv. ad an. 1307.

‡ Lib. vii.

§ Liv. iii. Annal. Franciæ.

|| Antiq. de Paris.

¶ Lib. v. c. 13. Contin. Belli Sancti a G. Tirgo.

** Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'ord. S. D. i. liv. viii.

†† Tableau de Paris, ii. 1097. ‡‡ Hist. de France, tom. iii.

Saxons and Frisons, prove the necessity which existed for these wars *. The treaties of peace concluded at the end of each of these campaigns, fully disproves their assertion, that he forced the Saxons by arms to embrace the Christian religion ; but, as Fauriel observes, " his object was to secure peace and civilization by making war upon the barbarians beyond the Rhine, who were always disposed to pour upon Italy and Gaul, and so perpetuate the horrors of their first invasion. The war was provoked by the Saxons. It was," he says, " a struggle in which humanity was interested. It was the question whether the German tribes in the rear still Pagan, beyond the Rhine and the Alps, were to force at length those two barriers, and take possession of Gaul and Italy, or whether the chiefs of the Christian monarchy were to succeed in restraining the Germans within the limits, which for three centuries they had been endeavouring to burst, and in placing them on the common road of European civilization," that is, comparatively of peace †.

To the second class, therefore, we are to confine our view, and the subject unhappily will be ample enough to occupy an entire chapter. After the invasion of Gaul by the barbarians, in the fifth century, many powerful Roman Gauls, stript of their offices, retired to their estates, and found an analogy with their former conditions, while residing there at the head of their labouring clients. Many through fear of the barbarians withdrew into desolate places, where they concealed and fortified themselves. Long before, besides their superb villas in the most picturesque spots on the banks of a river or lake, or on a hill-side, crowned with pines and chestnuts, they possessed also places of security, like castles, on mountains, and in savage wilds, difficult of access ; and some nobles had several. Some of these castles dated from an earlier time, when the barbarous chieftains of the Celtic population warred against each other. These became again of importance, and were restored when the Romans were obliged to yield to the barbarians in the fifth century. Others had been built as a protection to their villas, by

* Møeller, Manuel d'Hist. du Moyen Age, i.

† Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 315.

the Roman proprietors before that epoch. The castles of the feudal lords of the tenth century, which abound in all the gorges of the south, are therefore of Gallic-Roman origin, and their existence in such savage places can only be explained by the necessity of those times of barbaric invasion *.

The author of the Chronicle of Vulturno, speaking of the times of Louis le débonnaire, says, “ at this time castles were few in these regions, but towns and monasteries were multiplied. There was no fear or prospect of wars, since all men enjoyed profound peace until the times of the Saracens. But when the Normans came into Italy, they began to build castles, to which they gave names.” Many diplomas exist of different emperors to bishops, abbots, and abbesses, granting them permission to build castles: the occasion of which was the necessity of defending their churches and convents from the persecution of Pagans, that is, of Hungarians or the Saracens †.” Ere we proceed, it may be well to return once more and take another glance at these ancient abodes, which we have so often visited with different impressions. It cannot but inspire pleasure when we figure to ourselves a castle in the majesty of a forest, of which the secular chestnuts rose as high as the battlements, and in which the stags would graze by night at the feet of the towers, till the daybreak, and the horn from the portal would chase them into the depth of the wood. What hours of thoughtfulness and of peaceful contemplation might the wardens have enjoyed, when from the top of the towers they used to sit and listen to the murmur of the forest rising through the midnight air, interrupted only by the howling of wolves against the moon! In point of art too how admirable! The tower of Coucy built in 1052, was two hundred and fifty-eight feet in height, three hundred in circumference, and its walls were thirty-two feet thick. Mazarine blew up the outward shell, but the walls yielded only to an earthquake, which split them from top to bottom. After riding three leagues through the forest from Compiègne, without meeting a human form, so that I could easily

* Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule Mérid.* i. 558.

† *Ap. Mur. Antiq. It.* xxvi.

understand the terror of young Philip, afterwards Augustus, when he lost his way there while hunting a wild boar, as is related in the Chronicle of St. Denis, the sudden appearance at an abrupt turning of the castle of Pierrefonds, in all its terrible array of battlements and gigantic towers, absolutely startled me. How would it have looked if Rieux had his hold there? No road, no river passes near it: the aspect of the place announces feudal power: the castle had seven towers, each of which is an hundred and eight feet in height; the corner-stones of the castle are rivetted with iron cramps sealed with lead. Beneath the rock on which it stands in grim majesty, are immense vaults; in the floor of one tower I observed the entrance to a dungeon, at sight of which the boldest would turn pale. When Marechal Biron, under Henry IV., besieged this castle, his eight hundred discharges of cannon produced no other effect but to whiten the walls. When its destruction was decreed in the time of Louis XIII. it was found impossible to demolish the walls: the roof was therefore removed to expose the interior to the weather.

One cannot remember without taking an interest in the ancient castles, that it was their walls which witnessed the departure and the return of the crusaders, the mourning and the joy which belonged to those great events. When Philip Augustus arrived in his castle of Fontainebleau, on his return from Palestine, the poet Helinant says, "that the horns sounded on all the turrets to announce the happy news." The feudal towers have a charm when one reflects on the illustrious and holy men who came from them. Albert the Great and St. Thomas had left the castles of their noble ancestors, for the shade of the cloisters of St. Dominick. May the author of these books presume to add that for him they have a personal interest; for the play of his childhood was among the grey ruins of a castle on an isolated mount, which had belonged to his forefathers: the first flowers he culled were from those broken walls, and the first mysterious affections of his heart for history were awakened by the discovery of certain apertures in the ground at some distance, which led, he was assured, to chambers that had once been trodden by an ancestor of still popular renown through all that barony, whose portrait, showing a lady all in strange solemn weeds, with finger

on the text, proclaiming the resurrection of the body, seemed to gaze awfully upon him from the wainscot of his father's hall. His sisters, alas the day ! already slept at the foot of the green hill on which the castle stood ; his father and his mother were soon to follow them : his brother, who loved all solemn and inspiring recollections so as to be guided by them in his choice of a dwelling, was after short space to die on the ancestral spot, close to the ruins ; he felt himself as a plant of the soil that was to flower and to fade upon them : and so ever since the solitary wall of ruined castles in any land awakens recollections in him beyond utterance of departed friends. But why lead my reader thus aside to hear a private history ? why thus revive it to myself ? Sure He that made us, looking before and after, gave us not that capability to end in any retrospects. Let us proceed with what never makes one sad, the contemplation of the divine government on earth,—dark and often inexplicable, but still ever calmly fulfilling the eternal counsels.

Towards the close of the ninth century, many castles which had been built in more ancient times by kings, to be a protection to the country, were taken possession of and inhabited by robbers, who laid waste the neighbourhood *. Moreover the action of the feudal nobility underwent a considerable change, so that it is against the proprietors of these castles as disturbers of the public peace, that the wars of which we are now to speak were principally directed. According to Michelet, there are three ages to be distinguished in the feudal system. In the first it saved France and Europe when the Seigneurs built castles and towers, stopped the Normans and other invaders, and defended their vassals. In the ninth century the feudal lords were the protectors, not the oppressors of their vassals. “ If a man of the country,” say the ancient laws, “ should be made prisoner, the Seigneur of Ohsenstein must, though bare-foot, mount on horseback, even without waiting to have the saddle put on, if the horse should be unsaddled, and without waiting to put on his shoes, he must pursue the enemy until he shall have delivered the man. If one freeman or more should fly under the right arm of a Seigneur de Rieneck, there should be peace and safe-conduct. If a

* Mirac. S. Angilberti II. ap. Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Ben. iv. 1.

poor man should be emigrating with his little stock, and my gracious Prince Elector should be passing on horseback, two of his servants ought to alight and help the poor man by pushing the wheel behind ; and if his grace should meet him thus entangled in the mud, he ought, if alone, to dismount himself, and help him out of it *. Among the feudal lords of this period, two families were most eminently distinguished by their defending the country against the Normans ; and these were the Plantagenets, Counts of Anjou, who afterwards ascended the throne of England, that illustrious house, in which the last spark of chivalry expired, and the Capetians, whose title dates from Robert-le-fort, who was slain fighting against them. In the second age, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Seigneurs having no longer to defend themselves, degenerated too often and became disturbers of peace, brutal and ferocious oppressors of the churches and of the poor, though still they levied no taxes on the people. During this period, it was the ecclesiastical power which saved the people, and procured peace by the sword of the king, who of himself could do but little.

In the third age, which comprises the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they demanded even money, and became so intolerable, that kings took advantage of their position to reduce their power. In his sombre picture of the castles of the middle age, Michelet says, “ that in passing under the walls of Taillebourg, or Tancarville, or in the heart of the Ardennes, in the gorge of Montcornet, his heart shudders, and that there is no need of reading old histories, for that the souls of ancient generations still vibrate within us, and we feel the sufferings of those who so long languished at the feet of these towers †.” The fact is not exaggerated. A terrific description of some castles built by Norman plunderers in England, is given in the Saxon Chronicle. They had dungeons full of adders and snakes. In many were things loathsome and grim, called *sachenteges* ; and no one it adds, “ can tell all the wounds and pains which they inflicted on wretched men in this land. The bishops and learned men cursed them continually, but the effect

* Michelet, *Origines du Droit*. † *Hist. de France*, iii. 402.

thereof was nothing to them ; for they were all accursed and forsworn, and abandoned *.” Matthew Paris styles castles “ very nests of devils and dens of thieves ;” and William of Newbury says, “ there were in England as many tyrants as lords of castles.” The Abbot Suger, speaking of the garrison of one of the castles, says, “ they were excommunicated men, and altogether diabolic †.” There were often traditions of mystery attached to castles, which gave them a kind of infernal fame. The castle of Boves, which commanded the road to Amiens, was celebrated in the annals of chivalry, as having seen the birth of the magician Maugis. The war caused by the castle of Gisors, between the kings of France and England, was ascribed to the influence of the castle of Planches, a league distant from Gisors, at which place their parliament met to decide the question, when there were between them many words to sow discord, by the felons who are accustomed to foment quarrels between honourable men. This castle was said to be of bad adventure and evil fortune, for the old men of the country testify, say the Chronicles of St. Denis, that none who ever assemble there can make peace unless it be by very great chance ‡. The author of the history of the monastery of St. Florentius in Saumer, shows what was thought of those who built castles, when, speaking of the excellent and pious Count Theobald, he says,

“ Qui vivens tures altas construxit et ædes,
Multaque construxit, quæ non sine crimine fecit.
Verum conventum construxit, in hoc benedictus §.”

Duke Louis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, on departing for the crusade, had one scruple after all his pains, to put his soul in good estate, and it arose from his not having destroyed the castle of Eyterburg, which had been built to the prejudice of the neighbouring convent, and he besought his brother Henry to demolish it ||. Peter the Venerable relates a vision in a forest to a monk of Cluny, in which the spectre of a wicked nobleman

* P. 367.

† Vit. Ludov. vi. ap. Duchesne, iv.

‡ Ad an. 1109.

§ Hist. Mon. S. Flor. Salmar. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. v.

|| Montalembert, Hist. de S. E.

named Bernard, who had been converted in his last days, described its chief concern as arising from the circumstance of his having built shortly before death, a castle which was a scourge upon the neighbourhood *. Finally, we may remark that in the miniatures of Italian manuscripts, the entrance of hell is generally represented under the form of the portals of a feudal castle. In the ancient narratives whose awful theme records the spirits whelmed in woe, we are presented with visions that reveal the doom of some who built and held such castles. "Væ qui congregat ut sit in excelso nidus ejus, et liberari se putat de manu mali !" Many were the traditions to verify this woe pronounced by heaven. "In Endenig, near Bonn," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "lived a certain noble knight, Walter, a friend to our monastery. On occasion of a sickness, being tempted of the devil, he repulsed him : but he asked him, saying, 'Where is the soul of my lord, Count William, of Juliers, lately deceased ?' 'You know the neighbouring castles of Wolkenburg and Drachenfels ?' answered the demon. 'Well, if they were iron, both castle and rock, and placed where his soul now is, before you could knit your brows together thus, they would be melted.' 'Where is the soul of Henry, Count of Seynens ?' asked Walter. 'Certes we have him,' said the demon, but he did not mention what was his punishment. 'And where is my father ?' asked again the knight. 'We had him,' replied the demon, 'for twenty-one years ; but that one-eyed hag, and that bald pate, and that beggar, took him from us,' meaning his wife, who wept for him till she lost an eye, and his son Theodoric, who was a monk †." The end of Walter was similar. Leaving his castle of Niedeck, he went to Cologne, about an insult offered to him, and on his way back he was taken suddenly ill on the road. "O !" he cried, "I shall never again see Cologne !" The physician told him of his danger, and advised him to take back his wife ; but he refused. Then he besought him to release a certain soldier, whom he kept incarcerated, but he replied, "he shall never get out while I am alive." "Then he will be out before to-morrow," answered the physician, and his words came true, for Walter died, and an abbot of

* De Miracul. lib. i. c. 40.

† Illust. Mirac. lib. xii. c. 5.

our order saw him in a vision, in the place of torment. Some persons, it is said, walking on mount Gyber, heard a voice, "Prepare fire, a great fire for our choice one." "For whom?" answered voices, and they then heard, "for the Duke of Zeringia;" and news came afterwards, that the Duke, who was a great tyrant, had died that day and hour*.

On a former occasion, when speaking of the feudal manners, we only sought a chance for the great to escape exclusion from the number of the meek, and I think it was then proved that many were truly humble men and devout sons of the holy Church. We might, in this place, easily demonstrate, had we not already shown it, that many of them were also truly pacific. Pierrefonds, whose grim towers we have described, had its pacific lords: Nivelon I., therefore little known; Drogon I., his grandson, who so embellished it. What pacific virtues in Agatha de Pierrefonds, Countess of Soissons, last descendant, in the twelfth century, of that great house, which had also furnished two excellent bishops to the diocese †! It has been observed, by a recent editor of the *Chronicles of St. Denis*, that it is unjust to hold up the tyrants we are about to see, as representatives of the ancient knights and barons. If such had been the general manners of castellans, Suger would not have spoken as he has done respecting the indignation of Louis-le-gros against Hue de Pomponne, and the war which ensued ‡. "You will say," says Peter of Blois, writing to a certain count, "that such manners in youth are hereditary; but iniquity lieth to itself; for that great count Theobald and many others of your progenitors, even before manhood, shone with great virtue; and your uncle the Archbishop of Rheims had the gravity of age from his youth, and began from the first to ascend to perfection §." Still it is unquestionable that the evil was of immense extent and of continual occurrence. Within sight sometimes of the towers of these holy barons, adored by monks and by the poor—by the side of these young amiable seigneurs, loved by women, loved by the Church, loved by poets, loved by the people, the observed of all observers, were reckless and cruel enemies of peace, brutal—still more, had one

* Id. xii.

† Vol. iii. p. 242.

‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 44.

§ Pet. Bles. Epist. xv.

more names for badness—men of such distorted wills that they gloried in malice ; who were strong in iniquity, like those to whom the Church alludes on the vigil of an apostle ; who built for themselves solitudes, as is said in Job ; and who entrenched themselves there to carry dismay and desolation over the country around. These are spoken of in the histories of the middle ages as being of a cursed race. The family of Talvas, for instance, in the conqueror's time, was said to be cursed. "It nourishes crime," says Orderic Vitalis, "and prepares for it as if by an hereditary right. Hence the horrible ends of these men, none of whom were seen to die in an ordinary way, as other mortals. This race possessed the castles of Bellême, Urson, Essai, Alençon, Domfront, Saint-Ceneri, La Motte d'Igé, and other places of great strength*." Suger, speaking of Count Odo of Corbeil, says, "a man—not a man, because he was not rational—but an animal, son of Burchard, that most proud count †." The castle of Montagu, Mons-acutus, in the country of Laon, came by marriage into the hands of Thomas de Coucy, seigneur de Marle, a lost wretch, hateful to God and man, whose wolf-like ferocity increasing on his acquisition of this impregnable fortress, terrified all the surrounding country. His own father, Enguerrand de Bova, an honourable man, endeavoured to deprive him of it ; but some time after, by the divine will, he lost by divorce the castle and his wife, the marriage being stained by the crime of incest ‡. Herbert, Count of Maine, by his nocturnal incursions in Anjou, gained the surname of Eveil-chiens, the Dog-wakener. Such men of brutal ferocity used to be often called Isengrin, which was the name of the wolf in old fables. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, writing to Leuthric, styles Herbert, Count of Mans, the precursor of Antichrist, because he will not suffer the Bishop of Angers to remain at peace§. A similar tyrant was the Count William of Chalons, who so persecuted the monastery of Cluny, and made slaughter of the monks||. In 1358, Radigois de Derry, an Irishman, master of the castle of Mauconseil, pillaged all the country round Noyon,

* Lib. viii.

† Vit. Ludov. vi.

‡ Ibid.

§ Fulberti Epist. vii.

|| Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1163.

and stood a regular siege *. The seigneur of the castle of La Roche Guy or Du Glin, on the Rhone, who used to stop and ransom travellers, was so audacious that when St. Louis, on his first crusade, after leaving Lyons, had arrived near it, some of the garrison sallied down and plundered the king's people, who had gone in advance to prepare lodging for the army. So late as the reign of Henry IV. the castle of Pierrefonds was the terror of the country. Rieux, and afterwards Villeneuve, who held it, used to rob the diligences on the high road, and carry off every thing. The castle of Montlhéry was built in the time of King Robert, by Thibaut File-étoupe, of the house of Montmorency. When this castle came by the marriage of his son Louis into the hands of King Philip I., all the people of the surrounding country rejoiced as if the beam had been taken out of their eyes, or as if one had unbarred the gates of a strong tower in which they had been in close prison. This castle had caused such pain to the king, that, according to his declaration, it had turned his hair white. "Guard well, my son, that tower," said he to Louis, "which has caused me such labour; in attacking which I am grown old, and by reason of which I could never have peace or health; for from the castle of Corbeil, which is half way from Montlhéry to Chasteaufort on the right, the country was wholly exposed; and such confusion was between Paris and Orleans, that inhabitants of the one could not pass to the lands of the other for merchandise or other business without the consent of these traitors, or unless with a great force of men †." In the twelfth century two families of feudal dynasty were above all violent and cruel, the Coucys and the Montforts. The famous Chatellain de Coucy was only an officer, who had charge of the castle, as the title indicates. No barons, in all feudality, were more ferocious than these; they used to cut off the feet and hands of their prisoners. The pitiless Thomas de Marle was son of Enguerrand de Coucy. On the first day of his campaign against the people of Amiens, he slew thirty men with his own hand, and burned many churches. The name of his castle of Crécy figured in

* Hist. de Soissons, ii.

† Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1104.

many popular tales of horror. The Montforts were less cruel; yet it was a Montfort who in revenge advised a baron to mutilate the King of England's hostage, who was a child. In Italy and Spain many castles acquired a celebrity no less infamous. The Paduans trembled at those of Eccelino. One of the most famous was named Malta. Divine Providence punished the wretched architect, who desired as a favour that he might be permitted to build the dungeon in Padua. This man applied all his mind to the work: he used to fast many days, that he might accomplish what he had conceived; and he used to be constantly entering it, to see lest any glimmering of light should be able to pierce into it, for he wished it to be pitch dark, horrible, and deadly. This wretch, taken afterwards, was shut up in the very prison he had thus contrived, and left to perish with stench and hunger, like a wolf howling in the infernal place*. The catalogue of local tyrants in Spain, in the reigns of Don John and Don Henry alone, was dismal enough. Then we read of the Castellan of Castronugno, Ferdinand of Zenteno, the Captain Zapico, the Duchess of Villaba, the Mareschal Pietro Pardo, Alphonso Trusillo, Lopez Carasco, and Tamaio Mancino, and many others. It must be remembered, also, that besides disturbing the public peace by their oppressions of the Church and people, many of the feudal nobility were in habits of levying war against each other, and even against the king himself. "O how many princes and nobles of the empire," exclaims an ancient writer, speaking of an invasion of Austria in 1278, "are corrupt and made abominable in their studies! Yet generally not the nation, but the princes of the nation, sinned: but now a great battle was at hand. O miserable appetite between Christian princes, between lords and vassals. O cruelty detestable! Now in the shock of arms it was easy to discern the brave from the base; for many who had nourished the causes of discord, and who before the war had boasted the loudest of their desire to engage in battle, showed themselves the saddest and most timid. Here we may learn by experience that plunderers and disturbers of the public peace, who rage against the poor, and who like Bacchanals rave against

* Rolandini de Factis in Marchia Tarvis. v. 10, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

the churches, in the time of need, when it is necessary to fight for the public safety, are of little worth*.” Formidable, however, were many such men, not only to the clergy, but to the royal authority. Three great families encompassed the Isle of France—the houses of Normandy and Anjou, and that of Blois and Champagne. Besides these the Coucys, Rocheforts, and Dupuisets, were always opposed to the king. From Paris one could only ride securely as far as St. Denis. Beyond the abbey was the vast and sombre forest of Montmorency, in which one could only ride with lance on thigh. Of the feudal families some, like the Montforts, being what Michelet terms eccentric, that is, resolute in resisting the influence of monarchy, resisted and perished; others being rapidly centralized, like the Montmorencys, were soon lost in royalty. Others, from being very eccentric in feudal, became very centralized in later times; and, like the Coucys, courtiers more kingly than the king. These last, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, possessing Amiens and other towns, besides one hundred and fifty villages, were often formidable to the cities of Rheims and Laon. They shed their brightest lustre in the seventh Enguerrand, who perished in war against the Turks. From these causes Suger found the King of France a little prince; though he left the son of Louis le gros a mighty monarch, having by marriage obtained for him the greatest part of France. Against feudal oppressors the cry of the Church had long ascended, and the monastic line,

“ Nobiscum Dominus, Dæmon procul atque Tyrannus †,”

shows how familiarized were minds with a sense of the danger resulting from them. The Mass against tyrants, published by Muratori, dates from the year 950. The prayers are as follows: “Hear, we beseech thee, O Lord, Thy Church, not alone worn down by the persecutions of pagans, but also miserably afflicted by the depravity of evil Christians; and mercifully grant that they who refuse to be subject to earthly power may be cast down against their wills by the right hand of Thy Majesty, through our Lord Jesus Christ.” “O God, the father of orphans

* Chronic. Salisburgense, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

† Hist. Monast. S. Florentii Salmar.

and the judge of widows, behold with compassion the tears of Thy Church, and mercifully save her whom no earthly power defends." At the secret the words are, "Receive, O Lord, the prayers of Thy Church, with the oblations of hosts, and in defence of Thy faithful people work the ancient miracles of Thy arm, that the enemies of peace being overcome, Christian liberty may serve Thee in security." For the preface were these words: "Almighty and eternal God, look down propitiously on the countenance of Thy Church, which groans for the sufferings of her members. For it would be more tolerable if she were delivered over to the Gentile sword than to be destroyed by the incursion of wicked Christians. Lest eternal punishment, O Lord, be accumulated on the wicked, and that we should be burdened by their crimes, suffer not any longer their severity to prevail, through Christ our Lord." The post communions are these: "O God, who with wonderful sacraments dost continually refresh thy Church, redeemed with an ineffable price, mercifully grant that what she laments from the external persecutions of the wicked may internally, without ceasing, by Thy consolations, be repaired. Repress, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, the laws of tyrants, and of those who are adverse to Thee, that they may know Thee to be the protector of Thy Church, redeemed with such precious blood *." In the monastery of St. Maximin, at Treves, at the end of a text of the Gospels, Dom Martene found a prayer entitled "Clamor adversus Persecutores." It is as follows: "In the spirit of humility, and with a contrite mind, O Lord Jesu Christ, we come before Thy altar, and Thy most sacred body and blood, and profess ourselves to be guilty before Thee of our sins, for which we are justly afflicted. Thy poor servants and handmaidens, the ministers and husbandmen, are constrained to live in grief and straits: our goods, on which we ought to support ourselves in Thy holy service, and which blessed souls left to this place for their salvation, are dispersed and violently carried away. This Thy Church, O Lord, which in former times Thou hast founded, and in honour of St. John the Evangelist, and of thy saints Maximinus, Agricius, and Nicetius, hast exalted, sits in sadness. There is no one who can con-

* Murat. Antiq. It. diss. liv.

sole or deliver her, unless Thou our God. Arise, O Lord Jesu Christ, and come to our assistance, and judge our cause, and comfort and defend us. Fight those who fight against us; break their pride and their ferocity who afflict and desire to afflict this place and us. Justify them, O Lord, as Thou knowest how, and in Thy virtue cause them, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to recognize their evil deeds, and in the multitude of Thy mercies deliver us. Despise us not, O Lord, crying to Thee, but for Thy glory and the magnificence of Thy name, Almighty Father, visit us in peace and in Thy salvation, and save us from the present straits and from all the evils which they prepare against us; that all may know, loving Thee and invoking Thy holy name, that Thou art God alone, who savest Thy suppliants for sake of Thy great mercy. Cast down, we beseech Thee, O Lord, by Thy virtue, those who conspire against the firmament of the plenitude of Thy right arm, that iniquity may not prevail over justice, and that the falsehood of all the reprobate may be ever subjected to truth, through Christ our Lord *."

Having invoked Heaven, the clergy then implored assistance from kings or from virtuous barons who could procure peace for the people and the churches. About the year 1020, Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, writes to King Robert to inform him of the evils caused by the Viscount Gaufrid de Châteaudun, who had rebuilt the Castle of Galardon, that had been demolished by royal order: of which he observes, "*Ecce ab oriente panditur malum!*" Besides this he has presumed to build another at Isleras, of which I can truly say, "*En ab occidente malum!*" Now then, we implore your assistance; for such is our grief at these acts that we are obliged to intermit our signs of gladness, and celebrate the divine office in our Church in miserable, depressed tones, and almost in silence. We beseech you that Count Odo, by your authority, may order the destruction of the said machines of diabolic inspiration †."

On occasion of the wars between two nobles of the Rhine, Baldric and Wicmann, we read that the Bishop of Utrecht, Adelbold, fearing lest by their temerity the

* Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénédictins. 291.

† Fulbert, Carnot. Epist. iii.

people should be injured, convoked an assembly, and then declared his horror at these wicked contentions, by means of which the people are hurt, the lands depopulated, and declared that by the imperial power they should be constrained to live at peace*. Churches and monasteries had, indeed, their advocates or especial local protectors, who had a double office; for they were as agents to defend them by litigation, in which the monks were not themselves to engage, and they were as soldiers to protect them against violence by arms, and insure their tranquillity. Peace against ferocious neighbours was, in fact, sometimes purchased, when a baron, under the title of vidame, or patron of the monastery, bound himself to protect it: at others it was obtained by the voluntary good offices of a Christian noble. Thus Odo the Abbot, and all the monks of Ferrers, write in these terms to the illustrious man Lewis: "As often as we are shaken by any storm of perturbation or necessity we fly to the port of your benevolence, which repels no one who seeks refuge †." Nevertheless, there was cause for the prescriptions of Louis le débonnaire, that these advocates should be good men, not cruel, not greedy, but fearing God and loving justice ‡.

In the middle ages many orders or brotherhoods existed for the purpose of resisting the disturbers of peace. Early in the reign of Philip Augustus was formed a confraternity of peace; the members of which wore on their breasts the words, "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem." They were bound to oppose the enemies of peace, Routiers, Cottereau, and Brabançois. One of the motives assigned by Philippe le bon in founding the order of the Golden Fleece, was that the public tranquillity might be defended and maintained to the glory of our Creator and Redeemer §.

In the abbey of Feüillent Dom Martene found the rules of an ancient military order, under the name of the order of Faith and Peace, which was subject to the Abbot of Feüillent. In the prologue we read, "If I had learned the style of Josephus and the language of Jeremiah I should not be capable of describing the scourges of fire,

* Alpertus de Diversitate Temporum, lib. ii. c. 8.

† Lupi Epist. xxiii.

‡ Murat. Antiq. It. Diss. lxi.

§ Helyot. Hist. des Ord.

and sword, and persecution which have afflicted the province of Auch. But the ruins of castles, cities, towns, churches, and monasteries can bear witness. O grief, greater than any sorrow, that a land, once so rich and fertile, should be brought to such desolation by the sins of the inhabitants; when he is counted the most noble who boasts of the most ignoble deeds; where no one spares the orphan and widow; where youths and maidens, old men and children, priests and bishops, are wounded, plundered, and slain. At length, in 1229, in order that in the church all might say, ‘*Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis,*’ the clemency of God inspired the hearts of his servants Amaneus, Archbishop of Auch, and of his suffragans, who resolved, after the example of the Templars and knights of St. John, to establish a new order to defend peace, by whose powerful arm, with the Divine assistance, peace might be preserved in this province. Which resolution being communicated to the noblemen, William de Monte Cathano, Viscount of Bearn, that prince, being magnanimous, wise, and benign, praised it as holy, and liberally endowed the order with rents from certain of his castles: moved by whose example, other princes, barons, and knights of the province did the same, and bound their posterity to assist the said order, from which we trust there will result to the people justice and the abundance of peace *.” The members of this order were also bound to pray for the peace of the Church and for the conversion of the enemies of peace.

Often, however, it was necessary to call in the assistance of the royal power, and we find that kings, acting as the advocates of abbeys, were not slow to bear the needful assistance. Thus Louis le gros defended St. Denis against Bouchard de Montmorency, the Church of Beauvais against the Seigneurs of Mouchy and Beauvais, that of Orleans against the lords of that city; and so elsewhere. The frequency of such occasions may be estimated from the words of Dionysius the Carthusian, that “the military office is very necessary for the repression of the cruelties of petty tyrants †.”

Wars against such disturbers of peace were deemed a religious duty, insomuch that Louis IV., Landgrave of

* Voyage Lit. de Deux Bén.

† De Vita Militari.

Thuringia, waged them through a fear of losing his soul by suffering the oppressions of the poor by his nobles. His sieges of their castles were so many fruits of his conversion to God; for his resolution to humiliate them arose from his remorse at having so long suffered them to devour the poor. In the beginning of his career he had been one of their number, and more a monster than a man, being termed the iron landgrave, from his custom of always wearing armour. From being, however, a robber and a tyrant he became a devout man, and thenceforth employed his power in restraining other malefactors. But Cæsar of Heisterbach relates a vision, from which it would appear that the fate of his soul was doubtful. His son and successor, Louis V., was said to have been convinced of his perdition, so that he renounced the world, and became a monk in a Cistercian convent. An ancient chronicler, however, who relates his death in 1153, says that he was pious and benign, and, therefore, despised by his nobles, who esteemed him useless and effeminate. Being provoked by their acts, he made war upon them, captured them, but would not slay them: he only had them harnessed like horses to plough the fields, which caused him to be much dreaded *. After his death the nobles whom he had subdued were so changed that they feared to disobey his last orders, and therefore carried him on their shoulders, wrapped in the Cistercian habit, to Reinhartshorn, where he was interred.

In Italy, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the cities and communes, having established their liberty, made war upon the seigneurs of castles in the country, and subdued them utterly †. The nobles were even made to swear that they would have a house in the city, and inhabit it part of the year, which was constituting themselves citizens; and the forms of these oaths in the twelfth century still exist. Thus Gerard de Carpeneta swears that he will remain each year two months in Modena in time of peace, and three months in time of war; and Muratori gives many other similar charters.

The Emperor Otho III., being moved at the conduct

* Chronic. terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. German. ii.

† Muratori Antiq. Ital. xlvii.

of the Italian nobles who disturbed the public peace, came to Rome, and on the steps of the church prepared a great banquet, and ordered that when the guests were seated they should be surrounded by men secretly armed. Then he began to complain of the violators of peace, and commanded their names to be read aloud; after which he ordered them to be decapitated on the spot, and the rest to feast on *. The Emperor Conrad II. spared no enemies of peace, so that Godefrid of Viterbo says of him,

“ *Conradus pro pace duces deponit honore,
Et pacis sancita facit constare favore †.*”

Count Lupold, who was one of them, fearing death, fled into a remote forest, and there lived in a hut with his wife. It happened that the emperor, while hunting, came to the spot, and passed the night with them. That night the count's wife brought forth a son, and the emperor dreamt that the child then born would be his heir. As the same dream recurred thrice, he was greatly troubled, and next morning he commanded two of his servants to kill the child. They took it away, but, being moved to compassion by its smiles, they placed it under a tree, and brought back a hare's heart to the king. A certain duke, passing by soon after, found the child, and took it home to his wife and adopted it as his own. Long afterwards the emperor, being with this duke and hearing him relate, as a forest adventure, the history of this boy, who was then present, began to suspect that the victim had escaped. Being confirmed in this opinion, he took him into his service as a page, and then sent him with a letter to the queen, in which he charged her, on pain of his displeasure, to have the bearer put to death. The youth set out, and after travelling seven days came to a certain priest's house, who received him to hospitality as God commands. This priest was struck at his comely air and at his travelling so far alone; while he slept he looked at his letter, and discovered the horrible fate which awaited him: so, erasing the writing, he substituted for it these words, ‘This is the youth whom

* Ricobaldi Ferrariensis Hist. Imperatorum, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

† Godef. Viterb. Pantheon, ap. id. tom. vii.

I have chosen for the husband of our daughter. I charge you to give her to him quickly.' Next morning the lad awoke refreshed, and said, 'Adieu, dear host,' who replied, 'Remember me when you are king.' The boy only laughed, esteeming it a jest; so he departed. On arriving at Aix-la-Chapelle he delivered the letters; and so well did the stratagem succeed, that when the king wrote soon afterwards to ask if his orders had been obeyed, the queen assured him that the nuptials had been celebrated with great celerity, as he had desired. The Cæsar could not believe his eyes when he read her letter. Mounting his horse, he rode off immediately, and travelled with great speed to Aix-la-Chapelle. On his arrival the queen presented their daughter and son-in-law. For a long time the emperor seemed lost in astonishment, and uncertain what to do. At length nature prevailed, and he exclaimed, 'The will of God cannot be resisted.'

'Quod volui, jam non potui, Deus ipse negavit :
Quæ Deus instituit, nos patiemur, ait.'

Then he compelled the two squires to reveal what they had done, and the count to come from the Black Forest and receive back his son with peace from the emperor, who left him his heir, and who succeeded as Henry II. On the spot in the forest where the child was born was erected afterwards the noble monastery of Hirschau *."

In France the expeditions of the kings against the castles of these feudal tyrants were multiplied for a long period, and gave rise to most singular incidents. The chronicles of St. Denis and the work of Suger are full of examples. "Such," says the latter, "was the zeal of Philip I. against the Baron Ebalnus of Ruciac and his son Guischard, and other lords of their party, who tyrannized over the clergy and people of Rheims, that while in that country he scarcely ever rested from arms, excepting on Fridays and Sundays. Thus did he besiege the castle of Lion, seigneur de Meur, who devastated the country of Orleans. The castle was taken by storm, but Lion took refuge in the chapel of the castle, and tried to defend himself; but in vain: he and sixty persons were received on lances as they threw themselves

* Godefridi Viterbiensis Pantheon, ap. id. vii.

from the burning tower, and thus," adds the chronicle, "did their souls descend to hell *."

At Rochefort, ten leagues from Paris, towards Chartres, stood the castle of Guy le rouge, of which some remains are still left; at Chateaufort, five leagues from Paris, was another castle, of which two of the towers are still standing. The Prince Louis demolished all these castles when the Sire de Montlhéry and his lineage returned to their usual disloyalty †. The towers which remain have still a black and threatening aspect, though tottering to their fall. Hue de Ponponne held the castle of Gournay sur Marne, three leagues and a half from Paris. He took horses from some merchants on the king's high way, and led them to his castle, upon which Prince Louis besieged it, but did not take it till after much time and labour ‡. In 1108 Louis le gros was urged by many to punish a certain knight, named Hombaüs, who held the castle of St. Severe on the river Indre, three leagues from La Châtre, for the wrongs and outrages which he committed on the people of the lands of Bourges. This castle was much renowned for its chivalry and its garrison, and from old times it had always good knights. On the approach of the royal troops Hombaüs sallied forth against them; but was obliged to retreat. Then in great fear he rendered up the castle and his lands. Louis then led him away prisoner to the tower of Estampes §.

Louis le gros could not forget his custom to sustain the churches, and defend the poor people, and maintain peace if he could; but there were so many disturbers, that he had much to do. Amongst others were Gui le roux, and his son Hues de Crecy, a young bachelor, and brave, but very acute and malicious to do evil, to prey, and rob, and burn, and trouble the kingdom. This Hues had strangled his cousin german, Raoul de Beaugenci. Through shame at having lost the castle of Gournay, he was the more eager to assail the king, and because his brother Odo, Count of Corbeil, gave him no aid in this quarrel, he took him prisoner as he was hunting without guards, and put him into close prison in La Ferté-Baudoin at Aleps, four leagues from Estampes; at which outrage the knights of Corbeil were very indig-

* Chroniques de St. Denis ad an. 1104.

† Ad an. 1104.

‡ Ad an. 1107.

§ Ad an. 1108.

nant. On their complaining to the king, he promised to assist them. Then, with some who were of the castle of La Ferté-Baudoin, they corresponded, who agreed to admit them secretly. The king arrived by stealth with a small escort; and at the same hour the people of the castle were sitting round the fire, and telling stories together, when suddenly they heard the neigh of horses and the sound of knights. Much they wondered, and issued forth; and this was after supper at bed-time, and the darkness of the night caused much embarrassment to the assailants engaged in narrow ways. At first the garrison succeeded in making prisoner the king's seneschal and some others; but on the arrival of the king in person, close siege was laid to the castle: then had Hues de Crecy great fear of losing it and his prisoners. After a vigorous defence it was taken, and the prisoners delivered*. Hues was deprived of his estates, shaved, and confined in a monastery. "On the banks of the Seine," say the chronicles, "stands a castle altogether too strong and too proud, and it is called La Roche Guyon, '*horridum et ignobile castrum.*' The sire of this castle was Guy, a young bachelor, expert at arms, who had laid aside all the treason of his predecessors, a virtuous and just man, who wished to live without injuring others, as he would if he had lived longer; but he had a relation, a Norman, named William, one of the most disloyal traitors in the world, who pretended to be his friend, till he surprised him by treachery in his castle. It was on a Sunday evening that this traitor entered the church, which was on the same rock with the castle, along with other traitors, all armed secretly under their cloaks, and made semblance of adoring God, though all the while he was only spying how he could penetrate into the castle. At length he discerned the door by which Guy used to pass into the church, through which he and his troop suddenly rushed with drawn swords. Guy, not prepared to defend himself, was slain. His wife, seeing the treason, ran to him, without fear of death, and fell on him, and covered him against the strokes of swords, and cried out, as if mad, 'Kill me, me, disloyal murderer, and leave my lord.' Many of the blows dealt at him fell on her. The traitors seized her by the hair, dragged

* Ad an. 1103.

her from her husband, and then left her drenched in blood, and as if dead. Returning, they repeated their blows till he expired, and then slew also all the children whom they could find. Then did that poor lady raise her head, and when she recognised her lord's body, by force of love, all weakened and wounded as she was, she crawled towards him, began to kiss him as if he were alive, and then, with tearful chaunt, she sung his obsequies, and, while crying, fell as dead. Meanwhile the murderers examined the castle, and admired its strength. The chief, putting his head out of a window, called the natives, and promised them much good if they would do him homage ; but no one would enter the castle. As soon as the intelligence spread, the barons and knights of the country assembled full of rage, and laid siege to the castle, and then the traitor made great offers to some of them if they would make peace with him, but they all refused, and vowed to revenge the treason. The castle being taken, he was hanged, and after some time his carrion thrown into the Seine *."

The proud Bouchart sire de Montmorency, Count of Corbeil, was at this time chief of the disloyal and excommunicated. His son Eudes resembled him, at whose death the kingdom had peace, while he and his war descended to the pit of hell †. In 1114 Louis le gros marched into Burgundy right to the castle of Haymon, which was called Germegny, which surrendered at discretion. The Rocheforts on the Marne were incorrigible. Louis attacked and subdued them. "In the country of Laon," say the chronicles, "is a castle called Montagu, founded in very ancient times, and wondrously strong, for it is seated on a high round rock. This was held by Thomas de Marle, whom we have already mentioned, a man disloyal beyond measure, whom God and all the world hated for his great cruelty. So it came to pass that Enguerrand de Boves, sire de Coucy and Count of Amiens, his father, desired to put him out of the castle, in justice to the complaints of all the country round. With this view, he and Eblon, Count of Roucy, assembled a force, and besieged the castle, but the disloyal tyrant had great fear, and contrived to escape from it by night, and fled ‡." This Thomas de Marle, whom Suger

* Id. ad an. 1109.

† Ad an. 1111.

‡ Id. ad an. 1104.

terms "a lost wretch," disloyal, and mad, and traitor beyond measure," laid waste the countries of Noyon, Amiens, and Rheims, raging with a wolf-like fury, having no fear of the ecclesiastical vengeance, and showing no mercy to the people. From the abbey of St. John, at Laon, he seized two good towns, Crécy and Nogent, and fortified them with ditches and towers, as if they were his own, and made them a den of dragons and a robber's nest. For his innumerable crimes, and cruelties, and extortions, he was struck by the sword of holy church, being by sentence of the council at Beauvais excommunicated. In revenge he stabbed the Bishop of Laon in his own palace, upon which the king degraded him, and cited him to appear. The following year at the council of Soissons further measures were taken to repress his fury. At the prayers of the clergy the king gathered his forces and marched against him. His castle of Crécy was taken as easily as a peasant's granary, and his men destroyed without mercy for having shown no mercy. You would have seen that castle burning as if a prey to infernal fire. Then marched the king to Nogent, and took the castle, and spared only the innocent*.

In 1130, as the cries of the clergy and people still rose against the tyranny of Thomas de Marle, the king, bent on signal vengeance, marched against him, and resolved to destroy his castle of Coucy; and though his spies told him that the castle could only be besieged from a great distance, still he would persevere. The way was difficult and heavy, amidst forests and deserts, without a road, for the tracks were all cut off by the partizans of the tyrant, so that it was not till after much wandering here and there that they reached the castle. Thomas, being wounded in an attempt to escape, was led prisoner to the king, who took him to Laon. Though his wound was mortal, he could not be induced to deliver up the merchants and treasures he had concealed in his dungeons; and when his wife approached him, he seemed to grieve more for this restitution which was required, than for the death which was so near him. He pretended to repent, however, and died before he could receive our Lord's body †. "Lewis," says the Abbot Suger, "as in youth, so in age, never ceased from labouring to defend

* An. 1114.

† An. 1130.

the peace of the kingdom." One of his last acts in his infirm state was to destroy Chasteau Renart, four leagues from Montargis, and to burn and demolish also the castle of St. Briçon-sur-Loire, the seigneur of which used to rob merchants and intercept the roads *. I have given but a rapid sketch of his expeditions against castles : one of them, however, presents such remarkable incidents, that, while repeating tales of iron wars, I shall be pardoned for relating it at length. The castle of Puiset stood between Estampes and Orleans. The Countess of Chartres, speaking to Louis le gros, said, " This castle was originally built in the midst of the land of the saints by Queen Constance, to be a defence to the country." Far different was its character in the year 1110, when it was held by Hugues du Puiset, grandson of that Evrard, who, in 1092, imprisoned his bishop, Ives de Chartres. This Hugues du Puiset surpassed his ancestors in tyranny and rage, fearing neither the King of France nor the King of all, and depopulating all the territory of the Countess of Chartres, who, with her son Theobald, Count of Blois, a handsome youth and most brave knight, could never approach within eighteen or twenty miles of his castle of Puiset, where he had imprisoned nobles and even bishops ; for though few loved, many by force served him. This castle was thus the terror of the whole country between Paris, Chartres, and Orleans : thither he used to conduct all his plunder, for his continual occupation was to ravage the lands of his neighbours, and carry off cattle, fruits, poultry, and wine, sparing nothing, neither sacred nor profane. If any one dared to resist, he was seized, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon in the castle ; then it was an affair finished, and no more was ever heard of him. Evrard du Puiset, father to this baron, had even obliged King Philip to raise the siege of his castle, when he fell upon his army, and made many prisoners. The provostship of Toury, in consequence of the ravages of Hugues, had ceased to be of any value to the Abbey of St. Denis. Suger, being appointed provost by the Abbot Adam, felt it shameful to permit the continuance of such disorder. The Countess of Chartres, the Archbishop of Sens, with Suger, and numerous other persons, having

* An. 1131.

called the attention of Louis to the necessity of providing a remedy, the king resolved on putting an end to it. Nevertheless, the council of state determined to act with all the forms of justice. The accused was, therefore, first cited, and, on his turning a deaf ear, was tried and condemned. Suger, by command of the king, returned to Toury, fortified it, and prepared for the king's coming, who received no other answer from Hugues to his summons to surrender than, "My castle shall be for him who can take my sword." The siege was laid in form, and a most curious account is given of the progress. Two regular attacks were made: the first commanded by the young Count of Blois, son of the Countess of Chartres; the second by the king himself. More than 100,000 arms were raised to aid him besides those of his soldiers; for no sooner was it heard that the king was going to execute justice on the Baron du Puiset than all the world ran to take part in his punishment—men, women, children, monks, and priests, all came to bear assistance. The strength of the place consisted in a round tower and a dungeon of wood raised on an eminence, fortified by a rampart, defended by a palisade, and a ditch with a parapet. Along a second ditch was a great curtain flanked, and guarded with turrets. The troops endeavoured to scale the mound, but a shower of arrows and the steepness of the acclivity baffled their efforts, and after great slaughter they were obliged to retreat. All kinds of rustic implements were then collected, and mixed with oil and fat, and fire being set to this mass, which the wind bore towards the castle, another assault was made, but the flames prevented the assailants from advancing, and a fall of rain soon extinguished the fire. The besieged raised shouts of joy, and the king seemed reduced to the mortifying necessity of abandoning his enterprise. Among the multitude collected from all sides was the curate of a neighbouring parish, whose heart was set on the king's triumphing. The next project of a mine seemed to him to require too much time. Bareheaded he mounted alone on a different side, gained the foot of the palisade, by his extraordinary force of arm burst through and signed to his companions to follow him. His parishioners, who loved him, ran with hatchets to his succour, and made a breach before the besieged were aware of their attempt. Then

the troops rushed to the assault, and, in spite of the desperate resistance of the garrison, carried the place, and hoisted the standard of the count. The Seigneur du Puiset, with a few men, retired into the wooden dungeon, but being wounded at the entry surrendered his sword. The king spared his life, put up to sale by auction all his furniture, dismantled the castle, preserving only the principal tower, and conducted him prisoner to Chateau-Landon *. Suger adds, that the castle was razed to the ground as a place of Divine malediction.

Louis VII., who succeeded his father, had frequent occasion to wage similar wars for the sake of peace. Thus he razed the castle of Monceaux, belonging to the Count of Montmorency, and at the entreaty of the abbots of the province marched an army against the Count of Claremont, in Auvergne, and his nephew, William, Count of Puy, and against the Viscount de Polignac, who by the instinct of the devil were accustomed to pass their lives in plundering the churches, capturing travellers and pilgrims, oppressing the poor, and depopulating the country †. These men he captured, and kept in prison until they swore to renounce their habits. Sometime after, William, Count of Challon, following their diabolic footsteps, with the aid of the bands vulgarly called the Brabantins, ravaged the country, and mercilessly slew the monks of Cluny with a number of the people who came out processionally to meet them without weapons, but only armed with their sacred vestments, and crosses, and reliquaries. At the fame of this barbarity, the king marched against him, and took possession of his castle, and divided his lands between the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Nevers ‡.

The remonstrances of the clergy were not, however, always effective, nor was it sufficient to have aid from a distance where the disturbers of peace were multiplied and active. In the year 1020, Bouchart à la Barbe held a castle in an island of the Seine, from which he greatly injured the abbey of St. Denis and its people. The Abbot Vivien complained to King Robert, who admonished that lord to cease, and on his continuing, the king

* Dom. Gervaise, *Hist. de Suger*, liv. ii.

† *Hist. Ludovic VII. ap. Duchesne*, tom. iv. p. 417. ‡ *Id.*

demolished the castle. Then for the sake of peace, and by consent of the abbot, he permitted the erection of a fortress three miles from St. Denis, at Montmorency, near the fountain St. Walery, on condition that he should do homage for it to the abbot. This was the feudal castle of the abbey, called Montjoie, which became the war-cry of the kings of France. The church, therefore, scrupled not to use force in defence of the people, and to procure peace, and hence arose the custom of bishops and abbots having castles, which our antiquarians, like Grose, have noticed, without explaining the cause. From the fifth century we have seen that some castles were erected for the maintenance of security and peace. Such was the origin of many that date from the middle ages. Speaking of Leopold, Duke of Austria, surnamed Glorious, and also Father of the clergy and of his country, the celebrated Thomas Ebendorfferus de Haselbach says, that he was so much a prince of peace, that even beyond the limits of his own dominions he erected, with consent of Lewis, son of Otho, Duke of Bavaria, the castle of Scheneding, and efficaciously delivered monasteries and other places dedicated to God from divers oppressions *. Similarly the reason why Guillaume de Roches, Seneschal of Anjou, built the castle of La Roche-au-Moine, on the Loire, was in order to protect the road from Angers to Nantes; for before it was built robbers used to issue from a very strong castle standing on the other side, named Rochefort, belonging to Paien de Rochefort, a knight of great valour, but addicted to rapine, and to take from his neighbours, and the labourers, and merchants, and others who travelled that way †. The building of castles was, therefore, not necessarily unbecoming in pacific men, and accordingly we find castles in the hands of churchmen, who built or held them for the sake of obtaining peace. They had first tried all gentle methods of protection: they had legislated, for no plunderer or usurer could make a testament ‡; and the oblations of those who oppressed the poor could not be received §. The council of Paris made a distinction in

* Thom. Eb. Hasel. *Chronic. Austriacum*, ap. *Pez. Rer. Aust. Script.* ii.

† *Chroniques de St. Denis*, an. 1214.

‡ *Concil. Parisiense*, an. MCCXII. ap. *Martene, Vet. Script.* vii.

§ *Statuta Canonica*, ap. *Canisii Lect. Antiq.* iii.

favour of the plunderer's wife, which is most remarkable. "Let her live sparingly," says the decree, "of the things which her husband ministers to her from his spoils; not that he can give them to her, since they are not his own, but because she is the advocate of those that have been plundered, to ameliorate their cause, softening the heart of her husband, and inducing him to make condign restitution: but if she find the heart of her husband impenitent and incorrigible, and that she cannot prevail on him to make restitution, she is then bound to seek separation of board from him, and to beg from friends or others for her maintenance rather than partake of such deadly profit; and if she come to sickness or decrepitude, or to such destitution that no one would give her bread in the article of death, then in that necessity she may take food from her husband, not with an intention, like his, of rapine, but with the intention of restoring it when God grants her opportunity." The clergy had also appealed to their advocates, or to the king. Invested as they were with seigneurial power, it only remained for them, when all these means were insufficient, to provide by such forcible measures as were authorized by law personally for the security and peace of the people, so as to verify the prediction that the Lord would not leave them without assistance in the time of the proud.

The laws of the last Roman emperors had given bishops an absolute power over the municipalities, which, on the ruin of the empire, subsided into a feudal seignury, the inhabitants, in order to escape the tributes and service required by the neighbouring counts and barons, anxiously placing themselves under the crosier of the prelates, which Thiery designates as a paternal despotism *, and Fauriel, "a government eminently popular, resulting from necessity; the bishops, by the force of things, becoming the chief temporal magistrates of cities †." Extraordinary circumstances had also established in Germany a number of ecclesiastical sovereignties, the gentle and pacific character of which may be estimated from the old German proverb, "Unterm Krummstabe ist gut wohnen." We may remark by the way, that never in these pacific governments was it a

* Lettres, xv.

† Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. i. 385.

question to pass capital sentence against the spiritual enemies of the power which reigned. Against the disturbers of peace, they were, however, energetic; and these were of two kinds. When the communes were forming in the twelfth century, the bishops were often induced to resist the proposed innovation; and this brought on grievous altercations and combats. In the south of France, it is true, the bishops were generally disposed to favour and protect the communes*, but in the north they opposed them in many places, as at Cambrai, Laon, where the Bishop Gaudri was more a soldier of fortune than a prelate, and where his Archdeacon Anselm sympathised with his fellow citizens; and at Rheims, where, however, Guillaume de Champagne restored the privileges of the citizens. Yet in the insurrection of Cambrai, in 1024, the bishop Gerard, we read, had great compassion on his subjects, and desired to exercise towards them mercy and not justice†. After a later attempt, in 1107, the Bishop Gaucher interceded for his revolted subjects before the emperor Henry V. At Noyon, in 1098, Baudri de Sarchainville, the bishop, had no aversion for the institution of communes, but on the contrary preferred complying with the wishes of the citizens‡. At Amiens, in 1113, the Bishop Geoffrey, whom the Church honours as a saint, yielded without effort, and gratuitously, to the wish of the citizens, and concurred with them in the erection of a municipal government§. On the other hand, the atrocious and impious manner in which these insurrections were made, as at Mans, Laon, Rheims, and Liege, may explain the conduct of other prelates, as also the language of St. Bernard, Guibert de Nogent, and the chroniclers of St. Denis, who were unable to perceive the justice or expediency of measures which had such advocates. The contests between the bishops and citizens of Liege, from the thirteenth till the eighteenth century, indicate more the existence of turbulent spirits among the latter, than the faults of the former, who made common cause with the citizens against the nobles until their demands became exorbitant. When the Duke of Burgundy first attacked them, he appealed to the fact of their impious

* Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule Méridionale*.

† Script. Rer. Franc. tom. xiii. 476.

‡ Thierry, *lett.* xv. § Id. xix.

and cruel conduct, whereas the beneficent and liberal acts of such bishops as John of Walenrode, John of Hinsberg, Erard de la Marck, and Louis de Bourbon, could not be denied by their enemies. Where the fault was on the side of the prelate, the case had been contemplated and accounted for from the earliest times of the Church, as when St. Augustin said : “ All who desire earthly things, and prefer earthly felicity to God, and all who seek their own and not the things of Jesus Christ, pertain to that state which is mystically called Babylon, and has a diabolic king ; and all whose affections are set on things above, and who meditate on celestial things, who are mild and holy, and good, pertain to the spiritual Jerusalem, whose king is Christ. These two states are for the present mixed together, so that sometimes those who belong to the Babylonian state administer the things which pertain to Jerusalem ; while, again, those pertaining to Jerusalem administer sometimes the things which belong to Babylon *.” The protection of peace was an object of episcopal solicitude in early times. In the annals of the monastery of Nuys, on the Rhine, a house seven leagues from Cologne, we read of Adelwin, Archbishop of Cologne, in 690, that “ he deserved praise for being studious to preserve peace and public tranquillity†.”

The feudal tyrants, in later times, formed another class of disturbers of peace against which the power of the bishops and abbots might be exercised without compromising their pacific character. Let us hear the old chronicles. Baldwin de Lutzelinburg, on being elected Archbishop of Treves, came as an angel of peace to heal the troubles and discords of the diocese. His first act was to give strict orders to all officers that not by tyrannical rigour, but by striking, salutary fear, they should compel all persons to live at peace. Then, on the holy day of Pentecost, in all the sweetness of peace and concord, he made his solemn entry into Treves while the clergy and people sung “ *cives apostolorum pacem portaverunt, patriamque illuminantes hodie advenerunt.*” His love of peace and justice was indeed memorable. He built many castles near those of the robbers, by means

* In Ps. 61.

† Annales Novesienses, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

of which he kept them constantly besieged, and thus compelled them to leave the people in peace. Every where he was extolled as the defender of merchants and the enemy of the unjust, sparing not even his own brother when he was convicted of a crime. Thus he lived, ever defending the cause of the poor, appeasing discords among his subjects, and quickly terminating every process. As another Solomon, he deserved the title of "*Sapiens et pacificus*." The splendour of his court is then described; but what is remarkable, we find that on his tomb was commemorated, among his other merits, the number of castles he had built, and of robbers' castles which he destroyed.

"Gelsbergh damnavit, Rufinberch ædificavit,
Heynselbach stravit, Helekrus Sasztoch nichilavit;
Pacis et erector, rector, jubar utile turbis
More beatorum construxit claustra bonorum.
Atque tyrannorum destruxit castra malorum *."

Speaking of Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne, an old writer says: "As soon as this son of peace entered to be guardian of the churches, it would be impossible to describe the despair of all who in the kingdom were the enemies of peace." "Under his government," says another, "such peace and justice prevailed, that it seemed to be a return of the golden age. When he was at leisure, no one seemed to be more occupied; and when he was occupied, he seemed to be at leisure. On his tomb was this line:

"Bruno pacificus vir bonus atque pius †."

A similar testimony was on that of Otho, Archbishop of Milan, of the Visconti family:

"Intrepidus pastor, quem moles nulla laborum
Ardua devicit, populo latura quietem ‡."

A monk, after describing the horrible devastations and sacrileges committed by the Lord de Salmis, and the firmness and goodness of James, Archbishop of Metz,

* *Gesta ejus*, ap. Baluze, *Miscell. i.* *Gesta Trevirens.* Arch. ap. Martene, *Vet. Script. iv.*

† *Vita ejus à Ruotgers.* ap. Leibnitz, *Script. Brunsvic. Illust.*

‡ *Chronic. Francis Pepini*, ap. Mur. *Rer. It. Script. ix.*

through whom they fully expected deliverance, adds : “ Nevertheless, since the time of having mercy upon us had not yet arrived, and that it might be more clearly shown to us, ‘ quia melius est confidere in Domino, quam confidere in homine : et quia maledictus est qui ponit carnem brachium suum,’ the assistance of Bishop James is immediately withdrawn from us ; and because we too much trusted in that bishop, we were made to experience that ‘ bonum est sperare in Domino, quam sperare in principibus.’ For when we hoped to be delivered from the hands of the Lord de Salmis by that bishop, he took to his bed and died of an internal inflammation *.”

Muratori says that there was no bishop who had not at least some one castle, and many had several. There were few monasteries of great name which had not also castles under them, which were either the gifts of kings or the offerings of contrite nobles, or the fruit of purchase. Some also were built by abbots †. The tower of Garigliano was built in the ninth century, by the monks of Monte Casino, to be an asylum in the event of an invasion from the Saracens. In the tenth century, when the Huns or Tartars came into Germany, aided by the domestic feuds of the nobles, and carried devastation before them, Engelbert, Abbot of St. Gall, by the advice of the holy Wiborad, built two castles, one at Sittern, on a hill in the forest, about two hours distant from St. Gall ; and the other on the island of Wasserburg, in the lake of Constance, which he furnished with arms and provisions, and materials for making shields and arrows : he sent the books to the island of Reichenau, the oldest and youngest monks into the castle of Wasserburg, with the injunction as far as possible to keep open the communication by the lake with boats, while he placed himself, with some of his boldest men, in the castle of Sittern, where the peasants and all the inhabitants of the abbey took refuge. None remained but the virgins, enclosed at St. Maugis, rather than leave whose beloved walls they chose to die ; and Heibald, a monk of noble origin, but weak in intellect, who refused to depart with the rest, on the ground that the treasurer had given him no leather for shoes. The Huns arrived on the 1st of

* Chronic. Senoniensis, lib. v. cap. 8. ap. Dacher. Spicileg. iii.

† Mur. Antiq. It. diss. lxxi.

May, 925, their advance being foreshown by the smoke of burning houses, to which they set fire on their way. At St. Gall they hunted for concealed treasure, burned two of their company for having thrown down from the tower the gilt image of St. Gall, raised it up again, and took their repast sitting on the grass. Then they commenced a martial game; and having a priest in their company as interpreter, they forced him to cut off his tonsured crown with his own hands in a ludicrous manner; after which they were about to behead him, when they suddenly received intelligence that there was a castle near full of armed men, upon which they set off for Constance. On their departure, Abbot Engelbert sallied out, intercepted their road, attacked and routed them, and made one prisoner, who had been wounded. The nuns and Heribald meanwhile had fled to the nearest mountain. The Huns joined the main body of their army on the Rhine, and descended upon Alsace and Burgundy, but were finally annihilated. When the abbot was assured of their departure, he returned to the abbey, had the church and abbey again blessed by Noting, Bishop of Constance, and the Hungarian prisoner instructed in the Christian religion by the monks, who, with Heribald, had come into the castle, baptized and placed him in a condition to marry and leave posterity*. The Abbots of Lobbes built at Thuin a castle, in order to protect their abbey of Alne. James de Basoche, a holy and charitable Bishop of Soissons in the thirteenth century, rebuilt the castle of Sept-Mons, forming a mass of towers of different dimensions, commanded by a lofty dungeon†. John, Archbishop of Treves, acquired many castles from different noblemen, and built others, in order to secure peace and defend the people from the robbers' castles. This was the prelate who, during the troubles of succession which ensued on the death of the Emperor Frederic, governed with such admirable prudence and religious circumspection, that the peace of his diocese was preserved. Perplexed between law and king, he walked so cautiously between Innocent and Philip, that he neither wounded the one nor could be injured by the other; and at his death chose to be buried, not in his cathedral, but in a convent of monks; not in their church,

* Ekehard in Cas.

† Hist. de Soissons, ii. 133.

but in the chapter; not in pontificals, but in the habit of the poor *. His successor in 1212, Theodoric, a pacific man of great prudence, built the noble castle beyond the Rhine, against the powerful tyrants of that region, which he called Mount Thabor. His close ally and friend, Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne—that column of the Church and consolidator of the kingdom—acquired for the church of Cologne the castle of Thúrun. This Engelbert valiantly defended the country from tyrants till Frederic, Count of Ysemborg, his nephew, in 1225, assassinated him with demoniac cruelty on the vigil of St. Willibord, near the town of Suvelme, whither he was going to consecrate a church on the next day†. That nothing but the pacific end in view could have justified such demonstrations of power in the clergy, was well understood in the middle ages. “Some bishops,” says Peter of Blois, “abusively call baronies and regalia the alms of ancient kings, and reduce themselves to the most shameful servitude by adopting the title of barons. I fear lest the Lord may say of them, ‘ipsi regnaverunt, et non ex me.’ You have the office of a pastor, not of a baron‡.” Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, whose description of the episcopal duties will show what perfection was then required, speaks of certain men who are Maccabees rather than bishops, and proves the necessity of studying the mystic sense of parts of the Old Testament, adding, “What mean these brave and victorious Maccabees, but the battles which you must sustain with the arms of daily prayer against your visible and invisible enemies§.” Muratori || produces many passages from writers of the twelfth century, which show with what perspicuity and eloquence the general duty of the pacific orders was explained and enforced; but one may regret that he does not allude to the causes which often existed to justify such acquisitions of the clergy. The complaints of some might remind one of Æsop’s wolf, who told the sheep that their having dogs and shepherds was contrary to the gentleness of which they made profession. Still it is not to be denied that abuses followed. But let us observe how well, and with what effect, these were exposed at the time. “Attend,

* Gesta Trevirensium Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

† Id.

‡ De Institut. Episcopi.

§ Prolog. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix. || Antiq. It. lxxi.

I pray you, pontiffs of our age," says an abbot, "to the memory which you will leave behind—memory of the construction, not of churches but of castles, which you build on lofty precipitous mountains, with the sweat of the poor and the mite of widows: to what purpose, unless that men, not demons, may be kept off; that the bound may groan there in prison, and faint in punishment; that there sinners may be, not converted, but punished; and punished, not to the pardon of sins, but to the satisfaction of your revenge. O ye holy lords, ministers of our God, of whom we now speak, with a wiser counsel, did you construct monasteries with the oblations of the faithful and the property of the churches! Thence were driven away demons, and there the poor man was received, the sinner converted, and the religion of holy simplicity and of blessed poverty preserved, while day and night the name of the Lord was without ceasing praised *." The remonstrances of such men were not in vain. During the quarrel between Albert, Count of Namur, and Godfrey, Duke of Bouillon, uncle to the celebrated Godfrey, the former intending to take possession of the castle of Mirvold, Henry, Bishop of Liege, to prevent him, purchased it from the Countess de Monte, and put it in repair, leaving soldiers in it, with intention to defend the province. These, however, used to plunder the country and spare neither the poor nor the monks of St. Hubert, to which abbey it was very near. Theodoric, the abbot, therefore, perceiving that this would render vain all his labours, and expose posterity to many dangers, besought Henry, the bishop, to remove the source of so much disquietude; and he, fearing to offend such a holy man, gave up to him the legal possession of the castle, placing monks of that abbey in the church of St. Michael within its walls, and appointing the abbot to take charge of the fortress: but he for a while refused, saying that he knew how to keep a cloister, not a castle. At length, however, he was persuaded to undertake it, lest he should offend a powerful personage. Henry, the bishop, spent the next Christmas in the abbey of St. Hubert; and the abbot, after many solicitations, followed him on his departure to Liege, and arrived there in the

* *Ruperti Abbatis in vitam Altmanni Episcop. Pataviensis, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.*

Paschal week. The bishop received him with the customary words: “*Surrexit Dominus vere;*” to whom the abbot, instead of making the usual response, said, “*Et appareat Henrico hodie;*” a solemn admonition, not lost upon the bishop, who benignly conversed with him, and then leading him into the chapel, sat down. After remaining some time silent, he said, with tears in his eyes, and looking up to heaven, “I know what you seek, dearest father; I know what you desire, and how you fear for the future, from the malice of the present time; of which, lest I should give occasion, I give you permission to destroy the castle as you have so long wished.” The abbot wept for joy, and fell at his feet. Then he wrote instantly to Lambert, who had charge of the castle, and commanded him to pull down that altitude of Satan. On the receipt of his letter, Lambert mounted his horse, and went about the neighbourhood, requiring all persons to come to the castle, as if some great danger was expected. The rustics being assembled, and a great number of carpenters, at nones Lambert returned to the castle, and mounting up to the tower, said he would not taste food till he saw the pinnacle thrown down. The rustics, excited by his example, rushed on as if against the public enemy of the province, and climbing upon the roof and towers, began to tear up beams and cast down battlements, and the work of so much time and expense was soon demolished. The next day, when the abbot was returning from the bishop, being arrived at the spot whence formerly the tower was visible, and seeing it no longer, he alighted from his horse and kissed the ground, and devoutly sung *Te Deum laudamus;* and when he reached the spot and saw the ruins, raising up his hand against them, he said, “*Dissolvat te virtus omnipotentis Dei, qui nutu suo muros Jericho corruere fecit;*” nor did he cease till he procured other labourers to raze the walls to the ground, and level even the soil, leaving standing on the mount only the church of St. Michael, in which were placed brethren to serve it, as in a desert*.

Let us now witness the feudal power of the bishops employed, like that of the kings, in resisting and subduing the tyrants who disturbed peace. “I have often asked for peace both with prayers and with

* Hist. Andaganensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

offers of money, and I could never obtain it from this child of perdition." Such were the words of the Abbot of Vezelay in 1152, speaking of the Count of Nevers *. Against such men the soldiers of the Church were called to act. Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, who died in 1028, is styled, "*Desolatorum consolator, prædonum et latronum refrænator* †." Yet how repugnant were such actions to his nature, may be collected from his expression on one occasion, when he desired Count Odo to destroy the robber-castles of which we have already spoken. "If Count Odo dissembles," he says, "it will remain for me to ask assistance from the king; and if he, too, should neglect to give it, what else is left for me but to dismiss these things and serve Christ more secretly ‡." Nor was he singular in shrinking from such employment. Franco, Bishop of Liege, having taken up arms in defence of the people when the Normans, under Cruel Godefrid, mounted the Rhine and the Meuse, devastating the country; and having delivered it from these invaders, nevertheless, in consideration of the blood which had of necessity been shed, abdicated the office of the altar §. Others, however, conceived a similar idea of their obligations, and had less scruples after acting with energy. Frederic, Patriarch of Aquileia in the time of the Emperor Charles III., repressed the invasion of the Hungarians when that cruel horde first came to the borders; in allusion to which we read upon his tomb in Aquileia these lines :—

"Pannoniæ rabiem magno moderamine pressit,
Et pacem afflictæ contulit Italiæ ||."

Leodoinus, Bishop of Modena, fortified that city, and an inscription was placed on the walls to commemorate his having done so, which ended thus :—

"Non contra Dominos erectus corda serenos,
Sed cives proprios cupiens defendere tectos ¶."

But it was against the feudal tyrants that the temporal

* Chronique de Hugues de Poitiers.

† Fulberti Carnotens. op.

‡ Id. Epist. lxx.

§ Gesta Episc. Leodiensium, ap. id. iv.

|| Vitæ Patriarch. Aquil. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.

¶ Antiq. It. tom. i. Præfat.

power of the clergy was chiefly exerted. When Arnold was Archbishop of Treves, one tyrant above all the rest was notorious, like another Nero. This was Zorno Marschalcus, to whom was committed the castle of Thurun, belonging to the Duke of Bavaria. The details of his cruelties are horrible. The archbishop, roused like a lion, having convoked his friends, besieged this castle, all the people of the country assisting him, through hatred of the inhuman lord. After two years it was taken, though the duke had endeavoured to raise the siege and remove the archbishop. The garrison being reduced by famine, surrendered the castle to the Archbishop of Cologne, because one tower was within the jurisdiction of that church, and he had united his forces with the troops of the other archbishop. The latter, through gratitude to God for such a triumph, built in memory of it the chapel in Bisidenberg. This was the archbishop, who fortified with walls the cities of Treves and Coblenz, and who built many castles. Having finished his days in peace and concord with all men, he was buried in one corner of the choir, Theodoric being entombed in the other ; and this, not without a mystic meaning, as being the two luminaries of the church of Treves who preserved the peace of their people by building and acquiring the castles of Monthabor, Kilburg, Thurun, Stolzlinvels, Hardinvels, and fortifying their cities. To the good they showed themselves benign and tractable pastors in all things with fervent affection, while with all their force they resisted the wicked. May their memory remain with us men for evermore, and their souls rest with God in peace. Amen *. In 1016 the castle of Skiva, belonging to the tyrant Adalbert, was a great scourge to the territory of Treves, when Poppo governed that see, for the troops of this castellan used to sally forth and carry devastation even into the archbishop's court. After many complaints and counsels a certain soldier, named Siko, proposed to make an attempt to win the castle. So one day he went to the gate, knocked, and begged a cup of wine, urging great distress. It was quickly brought to him ; and after drinking he said to the butler, " Tell your lord that I feel most grateful, and that before long I hope to repay him for

* Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

his kindness." After some time he prepared thirty hogsheads, in each of which he concealed a soldier, and an extra sword; and choosing sixty others, whom he dressed as peasants, to carry them, he arrived with all his merchandise at the gate of the castle. On knocking and being asked from within who he was and what he wanted, he replied, "Tell your lord, that out of gratitude for the drink he gave me I have brought him a present of wine, as I promised." The servant having taken back this message, returned with orders to admit the men. The hogsheads, then, being placed before Adalbert, the porters, at a signal given, opened them all at the same moment. Then seizing the extra sword within each, while the soldier leaped out ready armed, they began to strike on all sides. Adalbert was the first to fall, his companions were slain without mercy, and thus the castle was reduced to solitude. Many other similar dens were taken by force or stratagem during the government of Poppo*.

Boemund, Archbishop of Treves, was a man of profound wisdom, in exterior pomp glorious among all the princes of Germany, without its ever infecting his blood with joy, or swelling his thoughts to any strain of pride; for he walked in the footsteps of that blessed Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, who said to the brethren of the monastery of Sigeberg, "Although I appear pompous to my soldiers, yet amidst them, in the sight of the eternal Judge, I walk trembling, and more dejected than can be revealed to any human eye †."

In 1290, Boemund besieged and razed to the ground the castle of Swarzenberg, lest it should be a nest of plunderers; this reverend father and lord governed the diocese of Treves in the utmost peace all his days: he was an appeaser of discords, and a peace maker. Every day after mass and the canonical hours, the doors of his palace were thrown open to all comers, and then he endured the noise and tumult of hearing every one's complaint, and administered justice and made peace. He repaired and improved all the castles of his diocese, and built many new ones. This great archbishop chose his sepulture in the Cistercian monastery of Hymmenroit, which he had always loved and venerated, visiting it annually on Palm

* Id.

† Id. iv. 343.

Sunday*. In 1353, Boemund II., a man of all wisdom and prudence, was elected archbishop by the chapter of Treves. Men believed that he would govern in peace, the territory being wholly given to contemplation. Several soldiers and nobles, however, though bound by oath to the church of Treves, yet seeing the old age of the prelate, rebelled in arms, and seized what they had sold to his predecessor. The Count of Starckenburg, above all, opposed him, and devastated the whole province with fire and sword. The holy archbishop resisted force by force; but feeling his own inability through age, he chose Cano de Falkensteyn for his coadjutor, whose first step was to rush like a roaring lion against a certain captain, called the archpriest, who depopulated the country. He routed him, and delivered it from his ravages. Similarly he defeated Philip de Ysemburg, and razed his castle to the ground, leading him away prisoner. Boemund was grateful to God for having given him such a defender, and he desired that he should be elected archbishop in his place, which was done and confirmed by Pope Innocent, after due enquiries respecting his qualifications. Cuno humbly obeyed Boemund in all things, to his death, which occurred a few years later, and then alone, he preserved peace, and benignly presided over clergy and people. The province of Cologne being then greatly troubled, its Archbishop, Ludolphus de Marco, with his chapter, made him coadjutor of their church. He then attacked and conquered all the surrounding dukes, counts, and other nobles, who had ravaged the territory. The chapter of Cologne and Mayence both sought to have him for archbishop, but he constantly refused, and only agreed to defend the people of their territories. Thanks to his protection, the province of Treves was preserved from all insult: he defended it especially against the captain named Silvester and against a Lord Cossinus, who if he had not been resisted with an armed force, would have devastated the whole province. Finally, to provide for its tranquillity after his death, he procured confirmation from Rome, of the election of his nephew Wernher de Falkensteyn to succeed him, as one who could most promote the utility of the church, and the peace of the whole

country, to whom Cuno resigned the see, in a rich and prosperous state, in great peace and tranquillity. This Werner de Falkensteyn, Archbishop of Treves, says "that he passes nights without sleep, providing for the utility of his subjects, and for the advantage of religious men, by whose prayers, rather than by military arms, the public good receives increase." "For these," he adds, "we undertake voluntary labours, desiring to extirpate all disquietudes and scandals, that while we alleviate their burdens, they may praise the Author of peace in greater peace than we can enjoy, so that at the last, in consequence of their tranquillity we may be able to rest, and to render an account to the Author of peace." When Otho de Tzegenhayn, Archbishop of Treves, went secretly through devotion, to visit the holy sepulchre, he committed the defence of the territory to a few counts of the diocese, who governed it in great peace, till his return. This holy and venerable man governed nobles and plebeians humbly, and yet, when occasions required, vigorously. He used to fast frequently on bread and water, and pass whole nights in prayer, when he used to be seen kissing the ground. He marched with an army against the two brothers De Gymmenich, and defeated them: he took the castle of Kempenich, and gave it to the church, and completed the building of the castle of Wytelich*.

The archbishops of Cologne, in the thirteenth century, had many contests with the citizens, and lost much of their temporal power in the battle of Worringen in 1290; yet it was wielded by pacific men, with a view to peace. Of Walram, in 1334, we read that he governed the church strenuously and pacifically in both states. He built the castle of Lechnich, to protect the diocese against his brother, the Count of Juliers. Herman, elected archbishop in 1480, was surnamed Pacificus. He was ever studious of the public peace, and he reconciled many princes who were hostile to each other. In 1584, when the troubles of heretics began, Ernest, the archbishop, in ordering supplications through the diocese, for obtaining peace, spoke as follows: "From the time that it pleased Divine Providence to call us to preside over the church of Cologne, amidst so many disorders,

* Id.

there was nothing which we more desired than to fulfil our duty, if possible, in public peace and tranquillity, yet being obliged to resist, we consider it the contest of God *.” Wickmann, Archbishop of Magdeburg in the twelfth century, is described as a man victorious, yet especially studying to promote the peace of his times †. Nocherus, in 1008, Bishop of Liege, mild to the weak, and terrible to the strong, esteemed it the essential part of his office, if he could deliver the faithful of his diocese from the oppressions of violent men. A certain potent noble demanded a piece of ground which commanded the whole city, saying, “that he wished to build a fortress, by means of which he could defend the bishop and citizens against all hostile attacks.” The holy man, who knew his deceit, contrived to gain time, putting off the affair, and meanwhile by secret advice, he had laid on the spot the foundations of a church, in honour of the victorious Cross, “by virtue of which,” he said, “more than by the arms of all mortal men, himself and all that were his, would be preserved in safety.” When the impious nobleman discovered what had been done, he became furious, but the prelate sent for the founders of the new church, and having heard their statement, gave his sentence, that he could not permit ground once destined for a church to be applied to any other purpose ‡. Reginhard was another Bishop of Liege, mild to the poor, and severe to the wicked rich. In that diocese the ravages of war were brought on by God-efrid in the time of the holy Bishop Wazo : armed with a cross alone he penetrated into the camps of dukes and counts, and when advised in letters by distant friends to fly from Liege, and take refuge in the castle of Huy, “Heaven forbid,” he replied, “that I should desert the Lord’s flock, and think myself safe in any place without them, from whom, under God, I derive all that I have of honour, in war or peace. Having had pleasure in happy times with them, I must now endure danger along with them.” The misery of the weak and the groans of the poor sometimes obliged him to abandon his own peaceful life; for he was convinced that no work would be

* *Annales Novesienses*, ap. id. iv.

† *Chronic. Montis Sereni* ap. *Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger.* ii.

‡ *Id.*

more acceptable to God, than that of restraining the fury of plunderers from the oppression of the innocent vulgar. Most of these robbers lived amidst marshes and mountains in secure citadels, whence they used to sally forth and lay waste the country round, and this especially in war time. So he resolved to destroy these places utterly, and in the spirit of an Elias and a Samuel, he used to proceed with a few troops, and besiege castle after castle, and with great labour take them, paying his troops daily, and showing himself a strict observer of justice towards all. As a bishop he could be compared to Gregory, as a soldier to Maccabee, as a wise man to Solomon, as a dialectician to Augustin, as poor in spirit to an anchorite: through necessity he took part in these things, that he might avoid displeasing his Creator. In this war, the wife of the Count of Monte Castro sent a message to tell him to come with soldiers to a certain spot at a given time, and promising that he might then take her husband prisoner, to give him up to the emperor; and this she did, not from any love for the juster cause, but through instability of mind. The holy bishop, abhorring such a novel crime, said, "I have never heard or read that a woman either in truth or pretence, has betrayed her husband; for it is pernicious even to feign what would be alien from the human condition." Thus the man of God invented a palliation for the wickedness of the tempter. In fine, no duke or marquis did more for the security of the country than he. The French being resolved to make war in Lorraine, he, after the manner of Paul, by epistles appeased them, and recalled them to peace, terrifying their king by describing the judgments of God on all who invaded the possessions of others, which he said in kings was the same as common robbery, with whatever title men might seek to conceal its turpitude. Speaking of his contemporary, the Archbishop of Cologne, he said, "Thank God, I can speak from personal observation. Remote from all sublimity of domination, on the sea of riches he steers himself with the rudder of humility*." Notger, who had been Abbot of St. Gall, before he was Bishop of Liege, ren-

* Id.

dered such services to that city that a contemporary poet says of him,

“ Notgerum Christo, Notgero cætera debes.”

This great bishop providing for peace in present and future times, and perceiving that danger and mischief must result from the presence of the great castle of Cybremont, or Chievremont, or Caput Mundi, so called, because it had been the seat of empire before Charlemagne removed it to Aix-la-Chapelle, with great cunning and labour took and destroyed it, removing the relics of saints which were in the three churches on the top of the mount, into monasteries recently erected. This castle was built by the kings of France of the first race. It stood on an inaccessible rock, two leagues from Liege. In the tenth century it was held by a Lord Idriel, who desolated the country. On the birth of a son, this Seigneur sent for the bishop to baptize him. He summoned his archdeacons and other friends, and told them to prepare for a great enterprize, and wear arms under their hoods. Then when all were assembled in the church, the bishop rose up and said, “ in the name of the living God, in the name of the visible head of the Church, of the Emperor, and of the Church of Liege, I Notger take possession of this castle.” The men of arms threw off their disguises, quelled resistance, and thrust out all whom they found within. Then the fortifications were demolished, so that it could never again be an asylum for plunderers*. Other accounts say, “ that Idriel and his daughter threw themselves from the walls. A simple chapel is now on the site of the castle.” This desire to procure baptism for the heir of one of these grim towers, seems as unaccountable as the circumstance of there being a chapel within it. The bonds which connected the robber knights and feudal tyrants with religion, were slight enough, and of an ambiguous kind. The castle indeed had its chapel, but Agobard tells us, “ that their chaplains were servile, ignorant men, and that no good priest would dishonour his name and life, by remaining with them†.” We read

* Id.

† Agobard. de Privilegio Sacerdotii.

that one of these castellans came one morning to the Franciscan convent at Troyes, and said to the brother who was about to say mass : “ I pray you let me have a knight’s mass.” To whom the friar, who perceived his meaning, answered, “ Sir, you shall not have a knight’s mass, but a king’s mass ;” and then solemnly celebrated the holy sacrifice as usual, with great devotion *. The lords of castles used often, like heretical potentates at the present day, to espouse the cause of bad priests, and make use of them against the just, as was seen in 1133, when Thomas, Prior of St. Victor, was waylaid and murdered, while passing near the castle of Gournay, by the Sire de Gournay and his satellites, at the instigation of the Archdeacon Thibaut, who had been reprovèd by the holy man for his misconduct. Though these men professed to disdain the sentence of excommunication, with which they were struck, there were not wanting awful instances of its power upon the most obdurate. The death of Nantin, Count of Angoulesme, who had been excommunicated by Eracle, the bishop, was in consequence truly terrible. “ Harolas! harolas!” he cried with a loud voice, “ how the Bishop Eracle tortures me! He flails me, and makes all my body burn with his fire, alas! I desire death rather than endure any longer such pains,” and with these words he finished his wretched life †. It is but justice to observe, however, that sometimes these wicked lords of castles were converted to a sense of religion, and became worshippers of that peace which they had so long disturbed. Guy de Roye relates that a knight who held a castle near the high road, and used to rob as many travellers as he could, espying one day a poor monk who passed along, sent his satellites to seize him. The monk begged them to lead him to their lord, as he had somewhat to say to him. On being led to the castle, he said that he wished to preach before them. Attracted by the novelty of the proposal, the castellan called his people scornfully together, but the monk said that there was one of them yet wanting, and that he must be sent for; in fact, the chamberlain had not arrived. On being called, he came, and no sooner saw the monk, than his face turned

* Guy de Roye, *Le Doctrinal de Sapience*.

† *Chroniques de St. Denis*, iii. xi.

black, his eye-balls started out, staring full ghastly like a strangled man. The monk then said aloud, "I conjure you by the name of God, to declare for what purpose you are in the castle." Whereupon this wretch cried out, while struggling as one that gasped for life, "Ay, by the foul terrors of dark-seated hell, these thirteen years I have stuck to that lord as one that loved him, and always reckoned that he would abandon the last custom he retained of his first youth, which was daily to salute God's mother; but still he persevered: poison be his drink to night, or I should have had full power to damn him as I wished for ever." The knight became of ashy semblance at the words so cursed and horrible, fell on his knees, implored mercy, and from that hour changed his life to follow peace with all men*. "Ludolphus of Saxony," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "was a knight in name, but a tyrant in deeds. One day as he was riding, clad in a new suit of scarlet, a rustic with a cart met him, and by the wheels the mud was splashed over it. In a fury he drew his sword, and cut off the man's foot. Afterwards, by the mercy of God, he was led to mourn for his sins, and he became a monk of our order in a monastery called Porta. Falling sick, he was inconsolable, remembering chiefly the cutting off the rustic's foot. The head of the infirmary trying to console him, he replied, 'Unless I see the sign of Job on my body, I cannot be comforted.' After a few days, lo! a scar, like a red thread, appeared round his foot in the same place where he had cut off that of the peasant: it mortified, and worms came from it. Then he was filled with joy, and said, 'Now I hope for pardon;' and so with great contrition of heart and thanksgiving he gave up the ghost. This was told me by the Abbot of Livonia, a son of the very house in which it happened†."

"In the reign of Lewis, son of Philip, there was a nobleman in the country of Chalons-sur-Saone, by name Pontius de Larazio, whose castle was impregnable. According to the dignity of the world he was illustrious, rich, and powerful, and conspicuous in all kinds of

* Le Doctrinal de Sapience.

† Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. lib. xi. c. 18.

human glory ; but great were his crimes : for he was a tyrant, and an oppressor of the neighbourhood. Some he circumvented by cunning, others he openly outraged by force of arms, so that he was an object of dread and hatred. But the pious Lord, who wisheth not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live, changed his heart ; so that, returning to himself, he began to consider what evils he had committed, and what judgment was in store for him. In fine, his remorse and contrition were profound ; he was dissolved in tears, and all moulded to penance. With these sentiments he resolved to renounce the world, and endeavour to atone for his past life. His friends and acquaintances, meanwhile, were astonished at the change wrought in him, and at a loss to conjecture what he intended to do. On coming to converse with him, however, he removed the mystery, speaking so forcibly on the judgment of God, the punishment of sinners, and the joys of the blessed, that many were moved to true penance, of whom were Raymund de Pireto, who became a monk, Gurardus, a priest, Peter Alzarra, a knight, Guillaume de Rota, Hugo Magnus, and Guillaume Desparron. He now employed officers to proclaim that all his possessions were for sale, upon which multitudes of persons of all degrees flocked to the castle, and procured what they pleased. With the money thus obtained he purchased cattle of all kinds, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, mules, and horses. Then sending messengers through the province to towns, villages, and castles, and to all markets and fairs, he gave notice that he wished every person who had been injured by him to repair to the town of Pegue-rolle on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday after Palm-Sunday. On that day, after the procession, the Passion having been chaunted, while the bishop and clergy were standing on the steps about to address the people assembled in the square, Pontius de Larazio came forward barefooted and with a rope round his neck, which was held by a man who inflicted stripes by his own orders, as if he were a malefactor : then, kneeling before the bishop, he begged that the paper in his hand, containing the list of his crimes, should be publicly read. The bishop, for a long time refusing, at length consented. Then was this public act read aloud while the penitent wept, and by his weeping moved all the people

to tears. This confession was useful, not only to himself, but to many others, who were now induced by so great an example to lay open their sins which they had long concealed through shame: then the solemnities of the day were resumed in the church.

“On the following day the injured persons began to assemble, according to the notice given, and he heard the complaints of each, sitting as judge, and often accuser of himself. Of every one in turn he begged forgiveness on his knees, and then restored to them in kind whatever had been taken from them, so that each seemed only to recover exactly what he had lost. Seeing one peasant standing near and urging no claim, he asked him why he remained silent. ‘It is,’ he replied, ‘my lord, that I have no charge against you; for, on the contrary, you have often done me great service.’ ‘Nay,’ answered Pontius, ‘I have injured you; for do you not remember such a night having lost some of your flocks?’ ‘Yes, my lord, but I never discovered who took them.’ ‘It was I, Pontius de Larazio,’ he replied, ‘by my satellites and accomplices.’ Then he implored his pardon, and restored the cattle. Thus, having sold all that he had, he dispersed and gave to the poor. On Maundy-Thurs-day he gave dinner to thirteen poor persons, and washed their feet. The same evening, after sun-set, in darkness and silence, he left his castle and his country, his relations and his father’s house, that, by imitating Christ in his passion, he might be a participator of his glory. He went barefooted, and the way was rough and difficult, even for horsemen. A thunder-storm came on, and the horrors of that night were terrible. The next day, having kissed the Cross at a spot where multitudes of knights and of all orders had assembled to adore it, he proceeded on his way to St. James, a poor, unknown pilgrim. After accomplishing his vow, by advice of the prelate of Compostella, he returned to France, and commenced a monastic life in a deep forest in the diocese of Narbonne. His huts became an abbey in 1336, and such was the origin of the monastery of Salvania, where he lived to his death as a lay brother. Thither many men of the military order came on their conversion to God, laying down their material to assume spiritual arms; turning their swords into ploughshares and their lances into reaping-hooks; drawing no more the sword

against the nations, nor going forth again to battle; but fulfilling, in themselves, that prophecy: ‘*Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pardus cum hædo accubabit: lupus et agnus pascentur simul, leo et bos comedent paleas**.’”

It only remains to state the end of these castles, which so long disturbed the lovers of peace. In England they were destroyed by the enemies of monarchy; in France by its friends. What Cromwell executed in the former and in Ireland, Richelieu and Mazarine accomplished in the latter. All the mountains of Auvergne bristled with feudal castles: the Cardinal razed many of them. Louis XIV. finished their destruction. The most celebrated of these dungeons, now in ruins, was that of Armagnac, where was taken James, Duke of Nemours, who was beheaded by Louis XI. But enough of sallies and retires, of palisados, fortins, parapets; it is time that we return to scenes more congenial to the pacific. Hitherto we have seen them desiring, enjoying, or struggling for peace; it remains to consider them in their character of peace-makers, dispensing it by peaceful means to others.

CHAPTER XII.

ALL ages of the world have known some who preferred tranquillity to war. Those of faith alone beheld men, from a conviction peace-makers, knowing that they should not burn, for themselves, since, if our virtues did not go forth of us, it were all alike as if we had them not. To spirits occupying this stage of our course approaching, Dante perceived near him, as it were, the waving of a wing, that fanned his face, and whispered, “Blessed they, the peace-makers; they know not evil wrath †.” From what station in the distempered mortal life did they pass to the peace of heaven? From thrones and feudal towers, from camps and cottages, from episcopal palaces and cloistered cells. In each let us behold

* *Tractat. de Conversione Pontii de Larazio, et exordii Monast. Salvaniensis vera Narratio*, ap. Baluze, *Miscel. tom. i.*

† *Purg. xvii.*

them ministering, and first from thrones. "If it be laudable to allay discord in one family, what," exclaims the angel of the school, "must be the merit of a king who causes a whole country to enjoy peace *?" In the middle ages such merit was not rare. Hear how speaks an emperor, who was in his first years faithful. Henry VII., at this time, abhorring mention of the parties of Gibelline and Guelph, remarkable, even in a religious age, for his love of the offices of the Church, at which he used to assist even in the night, was employed in pacifying Italy. "I call God to witness," he exclaims, "O French and German companions, fellow-soldiers, brothers, relations, my own flesh and blood, that no glory of the world and no affections of worldly cupidity have led me to these actions. If I look up I see my instructor, God; if below, Clement the Pope. By these guides I am led; and who is against me? Has God, the supreme justice and teacher of equity, desired any thing more sacred than that I should love my neighbour as myself? Is there any distinction or difference between Christians? Who is my neighbour? A German, a Frank, a Vandal, a Suabian, a Lombard, or a Tuscan; can any one add, a Gibelline? O, iniquity! for what purpose have I come? Is it that as an impious successor I should follow the errors of my predecessors? Hath Clement, in the seat of God, moved us to this journey that I should subject Guelph to Gibelline, or contrariwise? These are the men who, instigated by that Lucifer who fell, assume the invidious names of the empire and of the Church. The messenger of Pope Clement, shall I come to attack or betray the one or the other? Not so. Rather will I die first. And if there be any here otherwise inclined (looking at his brethren) let them begone, and seek slaughter, but it shall not be with me as their general and their prince †."

"In 1310, when Henry, Count of Luxemburg, on being elected emperor, came to Asti, Matthew Visconti, then exiled from Milan, repaired to him, and kissed his feet, saying that they were the feet of one who brought peace. There were many nobles of Lombardy, both Guelphs and

* De Regim. Prin. i. 9.

† Albertini Mussati Hist. Augusta, lib. i. 13. ii. 5. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. x.

Gibellines, to meet the king: the former of whom rejected the advances of Matthew, whom the Gibellines were ravished to behold. Antonio de Fixirago, a Guelph, said to him, ‘Matthew, Matthew, you were the cause of all the evils of Italy; for while you reigned, your work was to sow war and discord: you have disturbed the world, and have suffered no one to have rest.’ But he humbly replied, ‘It is for the Lord King to give peace, and put an end to the evils of our time.’ Henry smiled, and said, ‘Peace is already half made between you.’ In fact, this king was then labouring to bring peace to all Christians*.”

“In 1311, when the Emperor Henry received the iron crown at Milan, a deputation came to him from the Guelphs of Modena, who committed their city to his arbitration. He accordingly sent them a viceroy, Guidalosta de Verzelensi of Pistoia, who soon put an end to the discords of the nobles, and procured peace. Then all who had been banished were admitted back to the city, and others who had been imprisoned in chains, Bernardino Padella, Ugolino, Pella de Savignani, and other nobles, as also some of the people were delivered. Thus peace was made to the great joy of all men, and all were made friends. Many other cities accepted viceroys from the emperor, who came with the same intention, and, with the exception of Padua, there was no free city or principality which did not admit back the chiefs of the people of the adverse party who had been ejected†.”

“In 1331, when John, King of Bohemia, came into Italy, on occasion of his son becoming Duke of Carinthia and Count of the Tyrol, the Brescians did him homage as their king; and he coming there made peace in the city, for which reason he was adored by all the people; and when his fame was spread as a pacific king, Bergamo, Como, Pavia, Novarra, Vercelli, Cremona, Parma, Modena and Lucca made him their lord‡.”

Hear another historian. “In 1290, Rodolf, King of the Romans, was in Erfurt, with a great attendance of princes, making peace on all sides. Again, in 1170, the

* Gualvanei de la Flamma Opusc. de Rer. Gest. ab Azone, ap. id. xii.

† Chronic. Mutinense, ap. id. xi.

‡ Gualvanei de la Flamma Hist. Mediolanens. 313. ap. id. xi.

Emperor Frederic had a council there, in which he pacified many princes *."

Rupert, King of the Romans, of whom it was said soon after his election that his sole object was the amelioration of the state of the Holy Church of the sacred empire and of all Christendom, began his reign by labouring to make peace between the Landgrave of Hesse and the Archbishop of Mayence. On his return from Italy, finding that, after all his efforts, hostilities still continued between them, he wrote to the landgrave, expressing his affliction to see them persist in enmity, and that the people of their territories should be thus exposed to injury. In all the negotiations which ensued he stated his chief concern to be the restoration of peace for the sake of the people. Similarly he endeavoured to heal all feuds between Prince Ernest, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Duke of Bavaria. To Charles, Duke of Lorraine, he writes, desiring him to make peace between the Counts of Nassau and of Salm, and forbidding him to take any part in their quarrel †.

In the thirteenth century Albert, surnamed Contractus, and the wise, Duke of Austria, though he had his feet and hands contracted during thirty years, yet was never heard all that time to utter an impatient word. "When a grievous dissension arose between the Lords of Rosenberg and Walsee, and other borderers of Bohemia and Austria, this prudent prince treated with Charles, then Marquis of Moravia, and conducted these differences to a peaceful end. Many other quarrels he prevented and appeased by the arm of power, the persuasions of patience, and the means of moderation, for all his paths were pacific." Similarly Maynhard, Count of the Tyrol, as neighbour to both, appeased the difference between Henry, Duke of Bavaria, and Albert, Duke of Austria, and this he accomplished by his facetious address and prudence ‡.

Azo, the Lord Marquis of Este and the Lord Eccelino II. had come to an open rupture with bitter words in

* Erphurdianus Antiquitat. Variloq. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.

† Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 40. 93. 99. 130.

‡ Thom. Ebendorff. Haselbach. Chronic. Aust. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

presence of Otho IV. Henry Calandrini drew his sword with a crowd of Germans, and imposed silence on the factious company. The King commanded that no battle should ensue, and both parties retired. The next day as the King was riding, having the marquis on his right hand, and Eccelino on his left, he said to the latter in French, "Sire Ycelin salutem li Marches:" on which that lord, uncovering his head, said to him, "Domine Marchio Deus salvet vos." The marquis remaining covered, said, "Deus salvet vos." Then said the king to the marquis, "Sire Marches salutem Ycelin." When he still remaining covered, said to Eccelino, "Deus vos salvet," then the other a second time uncovering, answered "Sic salvet ipse vos." Thus riding they came to a bank, when the way was so narrow, that two could scarcely pass abreast. So the king riding first, left them to follow. Then the marquis said to Eccelino, "Go you before," and Eccelino said the same to him. Then both rode together and began to speak amicably, and all who saw them wondered. Thus they rode for two miles in close conversation, and on arriving at the hospice, the king alighting, called Eccelino aside and said, "Tell me the truth, what has been the subject of your conversation with the marquis?" "We were speaking," he replied, "of our ancient friendship." "And did you not speak of me?" asked the king. "Yes," replied Eccelino, "we did." "What did you say of me, Lord Eccelino?" "We said," he answered, "that when you choose, you are above all men, placid and benign, and virtuous; and that when you choose, you can be ferocious and terrible; and this is all that we said of you." Then, taking the marquis aside, he addressed him a similar question, and received a similar answer. Thus they rode in company to Imola, and there, in the king's presence, they both swore to keep peace with each other. Then he sent the marquis to the marshes of Ancona, but Eccelino accompanied him to Rome, whither he went to receive the imperial crown*.

In 1294, when the Venetians and Genoese were at war, and resolved to fight wherever they could meet, when all Christendom was grieving at the animosity between them, which neither the Pope nor the King of

* Gerardi Maurisii Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

France could appease, Matthew Visconti, Duke of Milan, by his great prudence brought them to peace, and thenceforth was considered as the father of the two cities*. After relating the particulars of another war between Genoa and Venice, and lamenting repeatedly, that there was not as much constancy in charity as in enmity, the Chancellor of Venice, Raphayni Caresini, says—"I shall now pass with a more joyful style from hatred to friendship, from warlike rage to the serenity of peace." Our wisest duke, with his deep council, after the custom of our revered ancestors, never contradicted the sentence of the prophet, "Inquire pacem, et persequere eam." Some princes of the world had benevolently wished to interpose, and stop the discord so hurtful to the Catholic faith, and to the whole world; but the Divine will reserved the effects for the pious and Christian prince, the Lord Amedee, Count of Savoy. At the earnest persuasion of this prince, emanating from the sole movement of most sincere charity, all parties sent ambassadors to Turin, who, with great wisdom, after solemn and mature deliberations, with the constant, amicable, wise and efficacious exhortations, and benevolent persuasions of the Count of Savoy, the eternal King of kings aiding them, a good, true, and permanent peace was happily concluded on Thursday, about the hour of vespers, to the praise and glory of the Divine Majesty, and the honour of the Count of Savoy†."

In a letter addressed to St. Thomas of Canterbury, we find an allusion to the pacific labours of Louis VII. in these terms: "The discords which had arisen between Henry the Pisan, and John of Naples, and William of Pavia, each of whom was vexed with the same spirit, have been composed by the intervention of the King of the French, who has made peace also between some others, so that many said of him, 'Homo iste venit pacem mittere, non gladium ‡.'" "Some of the council," says Joinville, "used to reprove the King St. Louis, for taking such pains to make peace between foreign princes, but he always answered, 'If foreign princes should remark that I look on with indifference, they will ima-

* Annales Mediolanenses, 66. ap. id. xvi.

† Raphagni Caresini contin. Chron. And. Dand. ap. id. xii.

‡ Epist. S. Thom. xii.

gine that I wish them to quarrel for my own profit, and they will hate me, and take an occasion to injure my kingdom. Moreover, I should kindle against myself the wrath of God.'” Even the disputes of religious men were sometimes terminated by kings. Hildebold, Bishop of Soissons, in the ninth century, had a quarrel with Eudes, Bishop of Beauvais, which Charles le chauve put a stop to in a manner singularly impressive. The two bishops contended for the church of Bethisy, and finding no other means of settling the question, the king ordered it to be demolished *. Peter, the deacon, relates a more interesting example, when writing to the Empress Richenza, he describes the visit of her husband Lothaire to Monte Casino. “Who would not admire his gravity,” saith he, “when in order to appease the dissensions of the brethren, which had arisen respecting the election of an abbot, he remained in the chapter-room without food or drink from the first hour of the day till vespers?” Thus was it seen that crowns did not dispense their wearers from the duty of advising peace, nor move them from the roll of common men. In feudal castles too, where we have already seen successively the meek and the ferocious, we shall find also the blessed peace-makers. The approved character of nobility was after all pacific, so that its guides declared, that “noble persons above all others had need of great patience and great meekness, as having more obstacles than other men, which they could not surmount if they gave way to anger, or the desire of revenge, or to impatience†.” Their duty, as that of all obedient to the Church, was plainly indicated in the Confiteor of the ancient German ritual; in which, after the words to be repeated by all, “I confess to almighty God, and to all the saints of God,” came an enumeration of sins, of which one was thus specified, “duos non conciliavi ‡.” The soldier’s duty in this respect differed not from that of the priest, nor do we find the least trace of a contrary opinion in the middle ages, excepting when offered as an insult to the world.

Don Antonio de Guevara, writing to Don Alphonso Pimetal, respecting the ancient chivalrous order of the

* Hist. de Soissons, i.

† Dionys. Carthus. Directorium Vitæ Nobilium, xxxi.

‡ Ap. Goldast. Alemannicar. Antiquit. tom. ii. p. 11.

band founded by the King Don Alphonso, son of Ferdinand and Constantia, informs him, that by one of their rules, if two of the knights should quarrel, the others were bound to reconcile them to each other. "To the military profession," says one of its old instructors, "belongs in a more especial manner the pacification of discords and the reconciliation of enemies *," a doctrine, it is to be feared, more at variance with modern than even with the Gentile views; for Ischomachus proves his right to the title of a gentleman, when Socrates asked on what ground he so calls himself, by saying, that whenever there was a difference or dispute, he always endeavoured to convince both parties that it was more for their advantage to be friends than enemies †. The general execration with which was regarded the memory of such men as Don Lopez de Haro, who caused the rupture between King Don Sancho the Strong and the Queen, and the courtiers of Queen Catherine, mother of Don John II., who caused that between her and the infant Don Fernando, and Don Alvarez de Lava, who endeavoured to excite the King Don Henriquez against Queen Berenger, and Don Alvar de Luna, who hindered peace between King Don John of Navarre, and his son the Prince Don Carlos of Viane, and the men who sowed discord between the infant Don Sancho and the King Don Alonzo his father, supplied a good commentary on this text. In fact, the mediation of the high and powerful seignior was often exercised to put a stop to the feuds and quarrels of society; and frequently the champions who had entered the deadly lists, were separated and made friends, by the interposition of the respected barons ‡. Will you hear fable illustrative of ancient manners? When Tristan de Leonnois and Palamades were engaged in mortal combat, a strange knight, who proved to be Brandeliz, came riding up with two squires, and seeing the fury and weakness of the combatants, he had great pity and said, "Sir Knights, I pray you tell me who you are and the cause of your hatred?" Neither of them answered a word, but ran at each other with redoubled

* Dionys. Carthus. de Vita Militari, vii.

† Xen. Œconom. xii.

‡ Hardouin de la Jaille, Traité des Duels et du Champ de Bataille.

fury; and when Brandeliz saw that they would persist to fight, he rode in between them. "Sir Knight," cried Tristan, "yours is a villanous action, to stop our battle against our will; we pray you let us bring it to an end." But Brandeliz entreated them so fervently, and said so many things, and did so much, that at last he brought them to a truce. "Then," he said, "Sir Knights, may I know the cause of your hatred, in order that I may make peace between you*?" In the same romance, Gyron le Courtois similarly makes peace between two strange knights†; and in more recent pictures of the same age, when, in Branksome-hall, amidst the pomp and feasting, while blood ran hot and high, Conrad, Lord of Wolfenstein, strikes the bold Hunthill for having formerly driven away some horses from his band, we read that—

"Then Howard, Horne, and Douglas rose
The kindling discord to compose."

In what light duels in the modern sense of the term were regarded in the middle ages, has been shown by many writers. Of rare occurrence, they inspired horror and remorse. In 1244, two youths bred in the court of Frederic, Duke of Austria, having fought and wounded each other dangerously, the duke, we read, with great humility and with tears, besought all spiritual men in his duchy to pray to God to spare their lives, promising among other things, that he would render justice in future to all men, and restore to their lawful owners all that he had unjustly seized at his father's death. The recovery of the young men was in consequence regarded as a miracle‡. In our day, imagined worth holds in men's blood such swollen and hot discourse, that Conservatives, who only merit that good name, if "of every abuse" be understood, take pains like those who openly profess destructive wishes with a pride that quarrels at self-breath speaking but to themselves, to keep manslaughter in form, and quarrelling upon the head of valour. The latter are consistent, but the former impose only on the ignorant. Our great poet disproves the title they would trace for their code of honour from knightly

* L'Histoire de Gyron le Courtois, f. xv. † Id. ccxxvi.

‡ Anon. Leobiens. Chron. lib. i. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

ancestors; for he expressly says, that such misbegotten valour came into the world when sects and factions were but newly born * ; that is, when the churlish traitors from whom, alas ! many of them must descend, by their becoming heretics, effaced in the judgment of universal knight-hood their armorial bearings, and all the titles of their nobility. The heroic laymen, who condemned duelling in later times, whose valour none could question, have viewed it from the old Catholic elevation, and shown the world how they would make their wrongs their outside, wear them like their raiment carelessly, and ne'er prefer their injuries to their heart to bring it into danger. This is the ground from which, for instance, Claude de Trelon, who was a soldier as well as a poet, in his work entitled, "*Le Cavalier Parfait*," which is a versified manual of instructions for the great, attacks the doctrine of the point of honour and its consequences †. We have already seen that the trial by battle was prohibited by the Church, but we should remark here that many of the reasons then adduced to show its perversity, would have applied with still greater force, if urged against duelling in its later forms. Thus Agobard, in his book "against the damnable opinion of those who think that the truth of Divine judgment can be revealed by the conflict of arms," lays much less stress upon its superstitious character than upon its inconsistency with the duty of the pacific. His expositions from Scripture, "*De pace et de sedandis cordis affectibus*," are all drawn up with a view to show this incompatibility. "When two stand," he says, "prepared to kill each other, they have not a good will, and, therefore, the angels of peace are not present offering to them eternal joys : with the ancient people homicides, with the new secret anger, and an injurious word, are forbidden. Therefore, he who does not purge his mind from fury nor restrain his hand from slaughter, is subject neither with the ancients to the law, nor with the new to the Gospel. The gate of the celestial kingdom is narrow, which admits little children, but excludes the gigantic. He, therefore, who stands prepared to kill, not being humble with the simplicity of a child, but wishing to seem terrible with the ostentation of a giant, is altogether repulsed from such

* Timon of Athens, iii. † Goujet, Bib. Franc. xiii. 384.

an entry. As pulse without salt is useless, so all virtue, even faith, is useless to the salvation of man without peace—"Sic omnis virtus, etiam ipsa fides non valet ad salutem hominis sine pace." We are told, that each one should please his neighbour in good for edification; but you do not wish to please him against whom you vibrate a sword, and deal blows that menace death. "Save them," we read, "who are led to death:" so that not alone you are not to lead them to death, but those who are led you are to deliver, "if you do not wish that God should render to you according to your works."

Now, in point of fact, we find that considerations of this nature, all strange as they may seem at present, could overcome formerly every motive that might induce men to engage in duelling, even in this mitigated and legal form. In 1369, at Frankford, two knights, Zierkinus de Vola and Adulphus Hanch, whose wives were sisters, not being able to agree about a division of property, challenged each other to battle. The governor of the city agreed and fixed a day. Meanwhile, their wives, devout women, never ceased praying God to soften their husbands' hearts, and inspire them with thoughts of peace. The morning arrived; the champions entered the lists, when, lo! their hearts being touched by God, to the astonishment of all beholders, they alighted from their horses, and embraced with tears, each exclaiming, "Brother, I confess myself conquered." The governor being indignant, declared that the law of duel prohibited a separation without wounds, and that whoever declared himself conquered must suffer capital punishment. He then swore to the God of heaven that he would never taste food until one or other of them had died. Zierkin then said, "I am conquered, I ought to die." But Adulphus said, "Nay, it is I who have been overcome. I am ready to suffer death." While thus disputing, the vengeance of God overtook the blood-thirsty and unjust governor, for he suddenly dropped down and expired. The knights then retired in peace, wondering at the works of God manifested that day*. But let us attend to the ordinary action of the pacific spirit directing laymen to interfere as peace-makers. "What Ætius could not have done by a battle," says Sidonius Apollinaris,

* Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet, 293, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

“Ferreol accomplished at a dinner by the gravity, sweetness, and penetrating charm of his words *.” This was an allusion to the conference in which Ferreol persuaded Thorismund, that young and fierce barbarian, to retire and leave Arles, which he had besieged, at peace. Rodolph, Count of Habsburg, acted in the same manner, for having many wars, and amongst others one with the Abbot of St. Gall, who was a potent prince, he came uninvited, and to the astonishment of all present sat down as a guest at his table; when he spoke with such effect during dinner, that the result was friendship and a lasting peace †. Of Richard, Duke of Normandy, we read in the chronicle of St. Denis, “So much did he love peace, that all those who were at variance he brought to concord either by himself or by his messengers ‡.” Thus did he reconcile Arnoul de Flandre to Hugues Capet. William of Jumièges says, “that whenever he heard of men being disunited, he used to establish peace between them, according to the words of Scripture, ‘Blessed are the feet of those who bring peace.’ His other works were of the same character, for he nourished monks, protected clerks, disdained the proud, loved the humble, fed the poor, defended orphans and widows, and redeemed captives §.” Odo III., Duke of Burgundy, going on the expedition against the Albigenses, accompanied by many prelates of his state, passed through Lyons, where, finding all the city in trouble, he would not proceed further without endeavouring to pacify the state of such a noble city, thinking that he ought not to take arms against the enemies of the faith until he saw the state in a Catholic city reduced to concord. Happily, by means of the exhortations of the prelates in his company, he made peace between Robert de la Tour, archbishop, with the church on one side, and the citizens of Lyons on the other, and this peace was proclaimed in an instrument which is now in the archives of the community ||. The heroic Herman von Salza, master of the Teutonic order, appears as a peace-maker in reconciling the emperor and the Pope. The day when these two heads of the Christian world were made friends by his

* Epist. vii. 12.

† Schoockii Tract. de Pace, vii.

‡ Ad an. 996.

§ Liv. iv. c. 19.

|| Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, liv. ii. c. 40.

intervention was certainly, as Voigt observes, the most honourable in his life *. The Italian chronicles abound with instances. Thus in 1299, by the mediation of Lord Maffæus Visconti, of Milan, and Lord Canis de la Scala, of Verona, peace was made between the Guelphs of Bologna, who at that time had the ascendancy, and the Gibellines, who had been expelled, many of whom then returned †. In 1304, Lord Lanfranc Rangonus, a Guelph, died in the city of Bologna through over-exertion as a peace-maker; for he used to come often secretly by night and by day to Turra de Gerlo for the sake of reconciling the Savignani's and the Boscheti's, who had been for a long time at enmity, and peace was tacitly concluded between them ‡. John of Ferrara, the minor friar, ascribes the death of Leonellus of Este, in 1450, in his forty-third year, and the ninth of his reign, to his over-exertion and cares in making peace, to which he devoted himself in assiduous vigils and great labour. "He was a worshipper of peace; and endeavoured to extirpate the seeds of discord between Astorgius de Manfredio and Taddeo, his nephew, as also between the regal majesty and the Venetian senate. Leonellus chose rather to imitate Cæsar in his love for letters, than in his ambitious and military exploits §."

In 1337, when there was war between Florence and Venice on the one side, and the Lords Albert and Martinus de la Scala on the other, the Marquis Obiczo, of Est, a benign and pacific lord, endeavoured to make peace between them ||. In 1335, a great discord arose between the Lord Brandelisio de Gozadini and Lord Taddeo de i Pepoli, because it was publicly said, that the former wished to give the city of Bologna to the Lords de la Scala: but Taddeo acted very wisely, for he went to sup with Lord Brandelisio, and so peace was made between them; and if there was any latent evil against the state, Taddeo took it away, saving always the honour and fame of Lord Brandelisio. A few months afterwards, when a strife began between the said Lord Brandelisio and Tuniolo de Logliano, by the mediation of

* Geschichte Preussens.

† Annal. Vet. Mutinensium, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

‡ Id.

§ Annales Estenses, ap. id. tom. xx.

|| Chronic. Estense, ap. id. xv.

Taddeo it was appeased *. When Jannottius Manetti was elected magistrate of Piscia he spared no pains to make peace everywhere, and eradicate all roots of discord, and make all the people live in perfect unanimity †. We find it recorded on the tomb of Rubens, in the church of St. James, at Antwerp, that he had happily laid the foundation of peace between princes. So that even in that country of artists his glory as a painter did not eclipse that to which he was entitled as a peacemaker. What an impressive scene was witnessed at Fontainebleau when the Duc de Mayenne was closing his career by endeavouring to appease and moderate the princes who were there present after the death of Henry IV. When his confessor, Pierre Moreau, who from a lawyer had become a Minim, announced to him his approaching death, "It is no news for me," he replied, "to hear that I am to die. I used formerly to seek death with arms in my hands, but I am more pleased to find it now at last on my bed for the salvation of my soul, than if I had met with it in battles for worldly glory."

The establishment of peace in ages of faith was sometimes due to the efforts of obscure men, who were raised up, as if miraculously, by heaven, to show how poor an instrument may do a noble deed,—and at others to the general desire of the people irresistibly manifested. Raimon de Saint-Gille, Count of Toulouse, and the King of Arragon were thus brought to peace, in 1183, by a miracle, as old historians say. The narrative is introduced in the chronicles of St. Denis, with the remark, that in consequence of their dissensions "the poor people of the country were much injured ; but that our Lord, who hears the cry of His poor, sent them a saviour, not an emperor, king, prince, or prelate, but a poor carpenter, named Durandus, to whom, in the town of our Lady of Puy, our Lord is said to have appeared, and given a schedule, with the words, 'Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.' The princes and people being assembled there as usual at the feast of the Assumption, the bishop ordered this poor man to stand forth and declare his vision ; and then he came forward and related it, and commanded them all to make

* Mat. de Griffonibus Memor. Historic. Rer. Bonon. ap. id. xviii.

† Vita ejus, ap. id. xx.

peace: then showing the schedule, all present began with tears and sobs to praise the piety and mercy of our Lord; and the two great princes, who were before so irreconcilable that no one could stop their wars, swore on the text of the gospels, and promised sincerely to keep peace with each other ever afterwards: in token of which peace they caused the image of the schedule to be made in tin, with the figure of our Lady, and this they wore stitched on white hoods like scapulars. It was a great marvel that all who wore these marks were so secure, that if any of them met the brother of one whom he had slain, the other would forget the injury and receive him with open arms, and give him the kiss of peace and charity with tears, and would give him to eat and drink in his house. This peace lasted a very long time*.” Of peace due to the general desire, an instance occurred in 1335, when it was, we are told, miraculously made between the chiefs of the country of Liege, who had desolated the land during thirty-eight years; for by consent of all the states it was decreed that whoever killed a man should suffer death; which law making each one fear for himself, twelve good men were chosen, six to be on each side, who, by God’s assistance, arranged a firm peace, which was therefore called the peace of the twelve. They ordained certain pains, either of pilgrimage or of fines, for such offences in words or deeds as could be committed, the injured persons being enjoined to bring their cause before them or their successors. Then, to take away all desire of revenge for those slain in the wars, and for the remission of sins of those slain on both sides, to obviate the necessity of many journeys, which, according to the laws of the land, would otherwise have been obligatory on those who had committed excesses, many of whom might die on the way, and thus perhaps give occasion for future litigations, they decreed to erect a chapel with twelve altars, in honour of the Apostles, and then the princes signed the treaty of peace, that is, the Duke of Brabant, Adulph, Lord of Liege, and the chapter, the Count of Lutzburg, and the Counts of Hanno and Namur, the Lord of Falcomont, and others; which was confirmed by Charles IV., King of the Romans, whose words are remarkable: “Although

* Ad an. 1184.

the sublimity of the royal dignity ought to attend to all things which relate to the welfare of the republic, yet with a more especial favour should it regard those which are designed to strengthen peace, and to exclude and repel rancours and enmities *."

It must be remembered, also, that in the middle ages among the laity many orders existed whose object was to make peace. In Italy, the Knights Gaudenti, instituted by the friar Guittone, of Arezzo, founder of the monastery of the Angeli at Florence, were bound by their rule to endeavour to pacify enemies, and restore friendship in the cities which were divided by factions, and to constitute a chivalry which was to abhor the punctilios of false honour. "There is a lay brotherhood in Pavia," says a writer in 1330, "the members of which on certain days and nights go in procession, and hear sermons, and sing devout hymns. They have a rule and a hospice for the poor without the palatine gate. They have often a sermon in some church by which many wolves are turned into lambs, mortal enemies reconciled, and many induced to make restitution †." At Palermo there was a confraternity under the invocation of the seven angels, in whose name grace and peace are given in the commencement of the Apocalypse. In the rule of the third order of St. Francis we see what minute and admirable directions were given to all the brethren and sisters to reconcile enemies and promote peace ‡. In fact, not only such orders, but all the confraternities named *Gilda* in Capitularies of Charlemagne, from a Saxon word, signifying to pay, as the members contributed to the funds for pious uses, were institutions of peace; and Muratori traces those of Italy to the missionaries who, in the time of Frederic II., went about endeavouring to appease discords and make peace §. To enter the confraternity of builders, which some suppose was first formed at Chartres, it was required as an essential condition that the candidate should have been to confession and reconciled to his enemies ||. In our days the brotherhood of the

* Chronic. Cornel. Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

† Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, c. xiv. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. t. xi.

‡ La Règle du Tiers Ord. chap. x.

§ Antiq. Ital. lxxv.

|| Manuel des Connaissances sur divers Objets d'Art, Lyon.

Sacconi exists at Rome, the office of which is to reconcile enemies. "One night," says an Italian writer, "when thunder murmured over the hills of Albano, and heavy drops had begun to fall, I fled for refuge to a house at the foot of the capitol. Some peasants were carousing, while a man at the door was vowing vengeance against some absent person, regardless of his daughter's supplications. At that moment there advanced towards him, like a phantom, a veiled form, covered from head to foot with a black robe. It fell on its knees before him, but spoke not. The humble attitude, however, sufficiently expressed its thought. The exasperated peasant was affected, and a religious impression came over all present. The Saccone rose, and, without uttering a word, left the house to which he had brought peace."

The importance of the part played by women in feudal life was so immense, and the fruit of love, wherever Catholic manners reigned, so full of all sweetness, that we cannot pass on without first adducing some examples of their pacific ministry. They were not left in ignorance of their duty. "Noble women," says Denis the Carthusian, "ought to excite their husbands, brethren, and relations, to love mercy and peace, to dissuade them from oppressing with exactions or services those subject to them, and from afflicting the impotent and poor*." It is not strange that holy priests should have frequently invoked the influence of women, when we find them entertaining so high a notion of their affinity to the Prince of Peace; for the treatise of Dionysius, "*De Vita et Regimine Principissæ*," is a dialogue between a princess and Christ. In effect from Him their eyes derived that heavenly rhetoric, that prone and speechless dialect against which the world could not hold argument, so well they could persuade. Some daughters of the Catholic Church, with minds of unruffled softness, as in Shakspeare's women, are constantly found, during the scenes of violence which afflicted the middle ages, kneeling for peace. Thus, in the twelfth century, we read that the warlike Guignes IV., Count of Albon, was frequently induced by his wife, Marguerite de Bourgogne, to be reconciled, and to keep peace. A contest having arisen between him and Hugues II., Bishop of Grenoble, the matter, at her entreaty, was

* *Directorium Vitæ nobilium.*

referred to arbitration, and when one article could not be arranged, they agreed to abide by the decision of his mother Matilda; for which purpose they repaired to her castle of Vizille, where she pronounced against her son, and he submitted to her sentence *. St. Thomas of Canterbury, writing to the Empress Matilda, says, that although her prodigious alms must please God, yet no less dear to Him must be her solicitude to maintain the peace and liberty of the Church, which is so great, that she can truly say with the Apostle, “*Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor*†?” How many tempests in the palaces of the middle ages have been appeased by women’s eyes! How oft the unkind threatening brow has been unknit before the sweet reflections of a lovely face! Who can tell how much bitterness one look has at times converted into most sweet sorrow! When King Charles of France returned to Provence, he embarked at Marseilles, and landed at Naples, three days after the capture of his son and the defeat of his projects to recover Sicily. When he heard the event, he was overwhelmed with rage and humiliation. That night he was lodged in his palace of Capuana. On entering his chamber, he dismissed his attendants, saying, “Leave me alone in darkness, and suffer me to swallow my sorrows.” Then the old man walked about, murmuring like a lion. Then the noble queen came to him, and said, in a soft and delicate tone that could ravish savage ears, and plant in tyrants mild humility, “Remember, lord, that when the Almighty created you, and gave you the breath of life, He gave you the form of man before that of king. If you believe yourself then to be a son of men, know that God determines for you all earthly things. Do you suppose that mundane power can surpass the Divine laws? Return to your conscience, lest you offend God. Is it not permitted Him to give and take away what He can, when the princes of the world give and take away what they cannot? What you suffer is no novelty. Remember how many princes of the world have endured worse things. This loss is to be endured then, for it is He who gave you glory who now for your sins gives you tears ‡.” History proclaims the immense service rendered by

* Vie de St. Hugues.

† Epist. S. Thom. Cant. xix.

‡ Bartol. de Neocastro, Hist. Siciliæ, 78, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. t. xiii.

women in different ages to the cause of peace. Jane de Valois, sister of Philip, King of France, never ceased labouring to make peace between France and England, and often fell at her brother's feet to appease him. In 1340 she succeeded in having a treaty concluded. At the siege of Orleans, by the Duke of Guise, on the day previous to the intended assault, the duchess, his wife, came to the camp, with a view to prevent carnage as far as she could, and it was while going to meet her that he was assassinated. What an angel of peace was Hedwige, the young queen of Poland, who accepted a husband that was contrary to her inclination, in order to promote the peace of Christians, which motive alone could have induced her to make such a sacrifice. "All Hungary rejoices in this child," said a Hungarian monk, speaking to Duke Hermann of the young Princess Elizabeth; "for she has brought peace with her;" alluding to the cessation of wars and dissensions which marked the period of her birth; and all her life was a service to promote peace. While the Emperor Otho was at Rome, Matilda, daughter of the great Otho, and Abbess of Quedlingburg, governed the kingdom. "She rendered so submissive and peaceable the hardened necks of the barbarous princes," says the historian, "that she may be said to have laid the foundations of this peace which the holy Church of God now in part enjoys after so many ravages of provinces; and this she did, not by any force or array of arms, though she was most fit for conducting them, but by vigils, and fasting, and prayers *."

When Madame de Chantal, who founded the order of the Visitation, was on a journey, the only honours she would accept from the persons of rank who used to contend with each other for the pleasure of entertaining her, was to be permitted to make peace, wherever there had been any division in the family. To ascertain whether such existed, was her first enquiry on entering a house. Thus having visited Madame d'Haracourt, in her castle, she did not depart till she had put an end to a process which had been for a long time existing between that lady and her brother. These were the honours with

* Annalista Saxo, ad an. 999, ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Medii Ævi, i.

which she was entertained *. Of St. Catharine of Sienna the church reads in her office that she extinguished many hatreds, and appeased mortal enmities; and that to obtain peace for the Florentines, who were placed under an interdict, she went to Avignon, to Pope Gregory XI. Elizabeth, of Portugal, who was of the third order of St. Francis, merited from the universal church, the glorious title of *Pacis et Patriæ Mater*. When the two armies of the King, and her son Alphonso were already engaged in battle, she mounted her horse and rode between them, to conjure them to suspend their blows and make peace. She re-established peace between Ferdinand IV. King of Castille, and Alphonso de la Cerda, his cousin, who disputed the crown; as also between James II. King of Arragon, his brother, and the King of Castille. After the death of the king, her husband, she extinguished the flames of war between Alphonso IV. surnamed the Brave, King of Portugal, and Alphonso XI. King of Castille. In this work of peace-making she laboured all her life, and suffered immense hardships, so that her zeal and success in this respect are celebrated in the prayer of the universal church on her festivity, in which she is styled “the blessed Queen Elizabeth, whom the most merciful God, amongst other excellent gifts adorned with the prerogative of appeasing warlike fury.” Finally, we may remark that many ancient sepulchres were made to attest the pacific ministry of women.

In Milan, on the tomb of Beatrix, wife of the Lord Barnabas Visconti, who died in 1383, were these lines,

“*Laurea virtutum, flos morum, pacis origo,
Nobilibus requies civibus, alma quies †.*”

And in the convent of Haius, on the tomb of Margaret of Burgundy, daughter of Count Stephen of Burgundy, in the twelfth century, was this beautiful line,

“*Pax, patientia, lux, moderantia fulsit in ipsa ‡.*”

But the power of innocence and noble love might

* Marsollier, *Vie de Madame de Chant*. ii. 73.

† *Annal. Mediolanens.* 145. ap. *Mur. Rer. It. Script.* xvi.

‡ *Vit. B. Hugonis de Lacerta*, ap. *Martene, Vet. Script.* vi.

find natures not to be so penetrated. It pleased Heaven, therefore, that peace should have still more efficient ministers than any we have as yet seen. In a former book we had occasion to investigate the action of the clergy in relation to justice : we must now consider it briefly with reference to the extension of peace.

When the leuds of Charles Martel, the companions of his wars, acquired ecclesiastical dignities with the lands of the church, there was a temporary and partial interruption to the godlike ministry of those who from the time of the apostles, until the invasion of the barbarians, had always loved and promoted peace. How new the spirit was that then appeared in some who wore ecclesiastical titles, and how incompatible it was known to be with them, may be learned from the celebrated vision of Charles the Bald, recorded in the *Chronicles of St. Denis*. The king declared, “ that he saw some bishops and prelates, who were of the times of his father and grandfather, and that he asked in great terror, why they suffered such grievous torments ?” and that they replied, “ we were bishops in the time of your predecessors, and when we ought to have advised peace and concord between princes and people, we sowed and diffused wars and discord, and were the causes and movers of woes unnumbered ; and for this reason we burn in these pains of hell, with all those who loved homicide and rapine ! O Charles, it is because we loved to kill men, and to make war through earthly avarice in the time of thy father, and of thy brethren, that we are in these boiling streams, punished by the torments of many metals *.” The evil indeed had been enormous. Savaric thus made Bishop of Auxerre, seriously attempted to transform by force of arms his bishopric into a kingdom, and perished, struck by lightning, as if by the hand of God, in the midst of his conquests. Nothing, however, can be more affecting than the lamentations of contemporary authors, when they describe the intestine wars and troubles which followed from the loss of the ministers of peace †. Still, in the worst moments of the sixth and seventh centuries, when, after the invasion of the barbarians, the ecclesiastical benefices were given to laics and warriors,

* *Les Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis*, an. 877.

† *Gesta Episcop. Trevirens.*

Fauriel doubts not that many of the clergy of the Franks were men of study, of grave and pacific manners*. How alive the Church was to the enormous evil introduced, may be witnessed in the decrees of councils. That of Tribur in 895, decreed that a clerk who should have committed homicide even by constraint, should be deposed. The canons of numerous councils to this effect were cited by Gerohus, in his book on the corrupt state of the Church, addressed to Pope Eugene III. These are explained by the complaints of Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia to Charlemagne, who besought the Emperor that priests and clerks might not be compelled to take part in war, but might be left, according to the evangelic and apostolic canons, to militate solely with spiritual arms in the Lord's camp†. In effect, Pepin, Charlemagne, and his pious son, Louis, endeavoured to cooperate with these views, and to root out the warlike seeds which had been forcibly infused into the clergy. However, as a learned French historian says, "it was neither from the Carlovingians, nor from the Franc clergy, that ideas of effective reform could come. It was too much degraded to reform itself. There was in the world but one sole power, the Papal, interested in saving the spirit and doctrines of Christianity, and capable of attempting something for the moral and religious restoration of the Gallic clergy. This power had never been idle in Gaul; it had always found much to do there since the invasion of the barbarians, but under the sons of Charles Martel, it attained to an unexpected developement. There the national assemblies of the Franks were transformed into ecclesiastical synods under the presidency of a legate, dictating laws for the express purpose of restoring divine religion, and of ensuring the spiritual welfare of the people‡." The evil, therefore, was resisted, though for a long while it left traces, as when nature found discordant fortune through the fault of men who, as Dante says, "perversely to religion strained him who was born to gird the sword §," and as when prelates looked for favour to the thrones of war-

* Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 460.

† Ap. Baluze, Miscell. ii.

‡ Fauriel, Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. tom. iii. 225.

§ Par. 8.

like kings, instead of keeping their eyes fixed upon the calm majesty of the popedom; like some in England, in the time of her wars with the French, whom Gerson blames for not having exerted themselves to make peace between the two countries, as they were bound to do by their office*. However, such exceptions only proved the rule. Often when kings sought to revive the barbarous abuse, their efforts were in vain. St. Arnoux, Abbot of St. Medard, of Soissons, in 1078, chose to abdicate his office, rather than go to the wars when the king sought to oblige him at the suggestion of Odon, who knew that he would resign rather than do so†. Excepting, therefore, during this calamitous epoch, and after it at rare intervals, history can only bear witness to the zeal and success of ecclesiastics in discharging their original pacific ministry. Once more free to exercise it, their labour was unintermitting, and their courage indomitable; and scarcely were they themselves escaped from the danger, when their voice was heard raised in behalf of others. Thus in 858 the bishops of France address a disturber of the public peace in these words: “We all that are patient have waited for peace, and it comes not. We beseech you, lord, to have before the eyes of your mind, the hour of your exit hence, when those will laugh who now laugh at the misfortunes of your opponents, and will seek some other protector. Think of that day when, with all men, you shall appear before the face of the eternal Judge; when our words which we write to you, shall not then be despised by those who now despise them, since without doubt they will be cited in testimony in that tremendous judgment. Then will those who have committed these cruelties, pass to everlasting fire, and those who have suffered them, to life eternal‡.” In 859 they sent a deputation to King Lewis, and addressed their legates in these terms, styling them ambassadors of divine peace. “In consequence of the discord which is between our King Lewis and Charles, by the faction of certain seditious men, things are committed in this kingdom, which are horrible to hear, and we know what deadly result is to be

* Dialog. inter Francum et Anglum, op. iv.

† Longueval, Hist. d'Eglise Gal. vii. 450.

‡ Ap. Baronius, an. 858.

expected if this pestilent dissension should continue by the artifice of the ancient enemy of the human race. We therefore discharge our legation for Christ, calling upon them to be reconciled to God. We have ordained you then, dearest brethren, as legates of God, legates of beloved peace, to repair with episcopal authority to our Princes Charles and Lothaire, and to the King, Lord Lewis. As our Saviour says, ‘into whatever house you enter, say first, Peace to this house; and if the son of peace be there, your peace will rest upon them.’ Then if this king be penitent, and should make a pure confession, let him be absolved, if he promise to return with his whole heart to peace and concord with our Princes Charles and Lothaire; and let them also promise to forgive him his trespasses against them, and to have peace with him, for the Scripture saith, ‘Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no one shall see God.’ For such is the evil of discord, that, unless it be entirely extinguished, no good can follow. And it is charity which covereth the multitude of sins, without which no alms can save us from the judgment of damnation. They must promise also that while as kings, ministers of the Lord, they forgive those who trespass against themselves, so they will exercise vengeance on those depopulators of Christianity, sinning against God, and the Church, who disturb the public peace. They must promise in short, to be cooperators with God, to the utmost of their power, that the churches in their kingdom may be defended, and that the people may have justice and peace*.”

In 889, the council of Pavia passed many decrees to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom, after what the fathers term “the horrible wars and infamous slaughters which had desolated that province.” They require that the plebeian men, and all the children of the Church, may freely use their own laws, that nothing further may be required from them, that they may not be violently oppressed, that the count of each place may give them justice, that the king’s officers should serve pacifically, and be content with their stipends, and that the king should extirpate rapine and establish peace†. The

* Ap. Baronius, an. 859.

† Murat. Antiq. It. Dissert. iii.

fathers of the synod of Teudo, under Drogo, Bishop of Metz, addressed the three imperial brothers, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, in these terms : “ The vessel of the holy church, from the beginning, often shaken by various tempests, can never sink under the guidance of Christ, excited by the prayers of the faithful. We return immense praise to our Lord God, who has inspired your hearts with the intention of walking in the footsteps of your progenitors, and of assisting it, so that by a temporal you may attain to an eternal kingdom. Since then it is certain, most noble lords, to say it without offence to you, that this holy Church, redeemed by the blood of Christ, and with much labour of your predecessors, restored and consolidated, has been rent and disturbed, and afflicted by your discords, it seems to us, who are unworthy, whom you here wish to consult, according to the Lord’s precept, that if you desire at present to reign happily, and hereafter to be saved, and to remove the pestilence from this same Church, for whose condition you will have to render an account in the day of judgment to the King of kings, you must study to nourish between yourselves, from a clean heart and a good conscience, and a faith not feigned, that charity which the apostle taught, and so manifest yourselves to the faithful and to infidels, that they may see your purity, as the Lord taught, saying, ‘ in this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one to the other,’ love not alone in word and in tongue, but such as every secret machination of injuring being removed, or open impugnation, alien from charity, to render each ready to lend assistance to the other according to his need. And so among the people committed to you, who have been so long afflicted with discord by the devil, disseminate that peace which Christ ascending to heaven, left as the great gift to his faithful, saying, ‘ *Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis* ;’ without which no one shall see the Lord.” Finally, they add this admonition : “ We seek that the ecclesiastical order, according to its ancient custom, may receive its vigour, and the generality of the people, justice ; that every one, in every state and order, may be restrained from rapine, and from whatever else causes discord. For past errors let every one seek reconciliation, which will easily be obtained, if instead of discord we plant charity, which covereth a multitude of

sins *.” Finally, and to cite but one more instance, the chief object of the fathers assembled at Cologne in 965, is according to their express declaration, to provide “*ut pax sit in terra hominibus bonæ voluntatis* †.” As the collective, so the personal ministry of the clergy was active in the cause of peace, union, and tranquillity: such were the ends ever in their view. “Let the concord of holy peace reign amongst you,” says Alcuin to the brothers of Salzburg, “and the God of peace will be with you.” To those of the church of St. Liudger, he says, “have peace with all; for nothing without peace pleases God.” Again, speaking of his order in general, he says, “we are of the number, not of those who bring a sword, but of those to whom it is said, ‘My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you ‡.’” A capitulary in the time of Charlemagne, descends to the most minute details in prescribing a pacific manner to priests: “When invited to a banquet by any of the faithful, it says that priests should have no contentions with each other for any matter, and no words but only words of charity pleasing to God §.” In the pastoral instructions of St. Edmund of Canterbury, rectors are strictly commanded to teach their flocks that they are to be one body in Christ in the unity of faith and the bond of peace, to foment friendships and to appease all rising discords, not permitting that the sun should set upon the anger of their parishioners ||. They had to contend, indeed, for the freedom of the Church and the security of the people, but still a soul thus touched, could never cease, whoever threatens war, to speak of peace; and hence fierce martial barons, and some in later times, who ignorantly re-echoed their complaints, accused the clergy of loving effeminate princes. Thus Gloucester says to the Bishop of Winchester,

“None do you like but an effeminate prince,
Whom, like a school-boy, you may overawe.”

Alas! the English clergy, in defending the cause of justice and peace, had not such docile scholars in their

* Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. ii. 327.

† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vii. p. 54.

‡ Alcuini Epist. 22. 32.

§ Capit. Carol. M. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

|| Lyndwood, Constitutiones Angliæ, 71.

kings. They admonish them, it is true, like Peter of Blois, who, addressing Henry II., says, that he returns thanks to the King of kings for having made him zealous to procure peace for the people committed to him, and exhorts him to persevere in almsgiving, that by them he may raise with his own hands a ladder to that mansion of the supernal citizens, in which is eternal peace and immutable rest *. But that there was little chance of overawing such men may be concluded from his significant allusion at the end of a letter to Walter, Bishop of Rochester: "I am going to the king, after my fatiguing journey, and expect any thing but rest from him †." "I learned from an abbot, who had been in England," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "that a certain bishop of the Præmonstratensian order in that kingdom, who lately died, was recommended, in his last hours, to confess. 'My lord,' said the clerks, 'you are very weak, why do you not confess?' To whom he replied, 'It is not necessary.' On their urging him again, he said, 'You foolish men; do you think that I have deferred confession to this moment?' They replied, 'But you were always occupied in the king's council.' 'If so,' he answered, 'I was not otherwise before the king than Christ before Pilate.' This holy bishop, in fact, was in the habit of confessing daily ‡."

Men of power might have often heard addressed to them words like these of Peter of Blois on another occasion: "When I met you lately, I was not able to extort from you one little word of meekness or love. Whatever humility or modesty could suggest to the human heart I proposed, that I might elicit some word of meekness and humility, but all in vain §." We have seen how the clergy legislated in the interest of peace. The sentence of the Canons was that all obligations contrary to peace should be considered null and void. It was decreed also that "the oblations of discordant brethren were not to be received ||," a measure that must have been more effective in ages of faith than men would now believe possible.

* Compend. in Job.

† Ep. lvi.

‡ Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. lib. iii. c. 22. § Id. xxi.

|| Helitgarii Episcop. Camer. de Judicio Pœnit. Laicorum, iv. c. 31. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. i.

We find the clergy eager to seize every occasion to impress on the minds of men the duty of loving peace. “*Studeamus dissidentium paci*,” as the Church says, citing St. Leo, on the third Sunday of Advent, was the advice given to all who prepared to celebrate any of her festivals. Did a calamity occur? The clergy hastened to press upon the people the necessity of appeasing enmities. Thus in 1308, when the Church of St. John Lateran was consumed by fire, there was great lamentation in Rome, and all men feared that the judgments of God would fall on their own heads. On which account, says a chronicle, the clergy and people made processions with litanies, and peace was ordained between those who were at variance*.

These litanies, these pacific processions of the clergy, might be disdained by men of Gloucester’s feeling, which dictates the remark in the romance of the Rose, that merchants and mechanics, illuminators of images, or of enamel, with clerks, great copiers of hours, make a poor figure under their banner of the Virgin, by the side of a forest of lances, horses barded with iron, and pendants glittering with the blazon of a high lineage. Yet, in ages of faith, it was the banner that conquered; it was the triumphant march of the pacific on some solemn day which won the hearts of men and women, so as to render pale in comparison during a moment at least all the glory of this world: what was the tournament itself after the procession on any great festival, in which the Church and people rejoiced together? The efficacy of the ecclesiastical interference, to suppress the usage of tournaments, must be remarked as a striking instance of a successful pacific ministry.

“Let no one receive into his house,” say the fathers of a council of Rheims, in the twelfth century, “those who are going to tournaments, or returning from them, those works of detestable and diabolic malice †.” As the world was profaning the holiest things of peace, and calling the preparatory trials of skill, “*les vespres des tournoyement ‡* ;” so the Church was using the things that disturbed peace to point a moral, as when Huon de Mery, a monk of St. Germain in 1228, entitled his work

* Cornel. Zantfliet, *Chronic. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.*

† *Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii. 74.*

‡ Gyron le Courtois, f. xx. and xxiii.

“*Le Tournay de l’Antichrist.*” “There is no question,” says Cæsar of Heisterbach, “but that those who die in tournaments go to the infernal regions, unless assisted by the benefit of contrition *.” Some German prelates attempted to defend the practice of jousting, in opposition to the pacific views of the popes. Thus, in the fifteenth century, the Archbishop of Mayence wrote to Pope Sixtus, saying, “that tournaments were laudable, since by excluding from them all knights whose reputation was stained, they became the auxiliaries of virtue.” But with such sophisms the Church was never appeased, and her horror of bloodshed had been evinced in the sentence of excommunication passed upon Henry I., Count of Champagne, called the Liberal, one of the companions of Louis VII., in his crusade, in consequence of his regulation respecting tournaments, which rendered them more dangerous. Subsequent decrees showed how deeply the clergy felt this evil. Pope Alexander III., in reply to Henry, Archbishop of Rheims, who, moved by the prayers of the Archbishop of Canterbury, had implored him to grant the rites of burial to a knight “slain in a tournament,” says: “though in all things, as far as is compatible with what we owe to God, we would gladly grant your petitions, yet having been often affectionately entreated for a similar matter by kings, princes, and barons, to whose prayers we never yielded, lest that evil custom might gain increase, let it not grieve you, if we refuse to hear your present petitions †.”

In 1175, Count Conrad, son of the Marquis Tideric, was slain in a tournament. “That pestiferous amusement,” says a chronicle, “has passed to such an abuse, that in one year sixteen soldiers perished in it. Therefore, Wichmann, Archbishop of Magdeburg, declared that all persons present at tournaments would be excommunicated. On this occasion, the archbishop being absent in Austria, and hearing of Conrad’s death, sent orders that he should be deprived of ecclesiastical burial. Some time after, when the archbishop was present with his clergy assembled in the church of Hall, the father of the said count, and his brother Otho, Marquis of Misnia, Dedo, Count of Groiz, Henry, Count Witin,

* *Illust. Mirac.* xii. 15. † *Ap. Martene, Vet. Script.* ii. 674.

Frederic, Count of Brene, and many other nobles with their attendants, threw themselves at his feet with great lamentations and weeping to pray, that he would grant communion to the slain, and asserting that before death the count had been penitent and absolved, and had received the communion of our Lord's body; for as he lay on the ground wounded, a certain monk was passing by, and at the entreaty of those present, he came up to the wounded man, and acceding to his prayer, heard his confession and absolved him from the bond of excommunication, on his promising that if he should recover, he would never again incur such censure, but serve God faithfully, and as a penance assume the cross to militate for God. The priest now was present to confirm this testimony. The archbishop then required these princes to swear that they would never assist at another tournament, nor permit one to take place on their domains; and on their compliance he granted sepulture to the dead, but with a saving the authority of the holy see. This occasioned further delay, the body all the while remaining unburied; but, in fine, Wernher, a friend of the deceased, departed for Rome, and on his return the funeral took place. The count was then buried in the abbey of Monte Sereno, before the western entrance of the great church, where, some time afterwards, Wernher was laid at his side*." The severity of the Church against every thing that endangered life or peace, may be conceived from the case that was laid before Alexander III., which the pontiff thus relates:—"A man hath come to us saying that when his son, ten years old, was playing with other boys, with bows and arrows, the nephew of Haideric was slain, and his son is said to have shot the arrow, though it is not certain. For this offence the father was summoned before the bishop of the diocese. But, as in boys things are left unpunished, which would be severely corrected in men, there seems to be no cause for further prosecution†." From all this it is easy to collect how the Church would have acted in later times, if she could have exercised her authority with

* *Chronicon Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rerum German. tom. ii.*

† *Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 821.*

respect to what Petrarch terms "the infamous spectacle of popular combats, evincing more than barbaric savageness." Where her authority is rejected, the amusements of men become like those of the suitors in the *Odyssey*; and whenever a combat is proposed, or any act of contention and violence, some word very like the exclamation of Antinous, is sure to be heard. O, friends, what a delight has God prepared for us! the stranger and the beggar are about to come to blows *.

From the first moment of the establishment of the Christian republic in the West, during the pontificate of St. Gregory the great, Europe, with rare exceptions, possessed a zealous and effective peace-maker in each of his successors, whose services in this respect can never be adequately appreciated, for no length of historical research can ever disclose their whole extent, "Holding the place of Him on earth, although unworthy, who detests discord," as Pope Innocent III. said †. "Elected to that see, which," as Pope Nicholas I. in 861, reminded the German bishops, "is known to be a lover of justice, and benignity, and peace ‡," the labours of the sovereign pontiffs to appease dissensions and prevent wars, and unite Christendom in concord, render all attempt to praise them superfluous, for they attest a glory which is as far beyond that which the world can bestow, as it is independent of its suffrage. "The father of the world to come," says Pope Martin IV. to the King of Sicily, "the Prince of peace, who by his inscrutable condescension has granted the vicarial office to our humility, has inspired us with the desire that from the beginning of this vocation, we should diffuse with all our strength amongst the children of the Church, our holy mother, the good of peace §." Such was the office of the popedom, such the end for which its power has been employed, whether consisting in positive strength, as in the middle ages, or as at the present day only in the benedictions and the faith which render it sacred to countless millions of men; and if pure intellectual delight can ever result from the study of history, it will be when that study has been especially directed to investigations that

* Od. xviii.

† Epist. lib. xvi. 226.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. 150.

§ Ibid. ii. p. 1284.

demonstrate its exercise. One may defy a man unprejudiced to read the epistles of Christ's vicars, ministering to peace, without feeling that he has himself derived benefit from them. Centuries may have elapsed since they were written; the occasion which called for them may be without a parallel in the present times; he may have taken them up merely through curiosity; the result regarding himself is no less positive; they have left in his mind a pacific impression, a sense of sweetness, as if he had heard the language of Heaven.

When Pope Gregory IV. came into France in 833, during the troubles between Louis le débonnaire and his sons, he addressed the emperor in these impressive words:—"Know that I am come only to procure that peace, which the Saviour has so recommended to his disciples." Some time later, Pope Adrian writes in these terms to all the counts, and others of the faithful in the kingdoms of Charles and of Lothaire:—"It has come to our ears, that King Charles, transcending the fury even of savage animals, rages against his own entrails, that is, against Carolomann his son, depriving him not only of his paternal favour, but banishing him from the kingdom, and gathering an army to direct you all against him. And since, by a contention of this kind, it often happens that there is shedding of blood, we judge it right to provide, lest such a wickedness should arrive in our times. Therefore wishing peace and not war, for the Psalmist says to the Lord, '*Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt*;' do you if possible make peace between the father and son; but if you cannot, at least refrain from war, dissipate battles; otherwise if any of you move against Carolomann, and by your means there should follow a shedding of the blood of the faithful, let him know that not only shall he be bound with the ties of excommunication, but also consigned to associate with Satan in the chains of anathema*." At the council of Rheims, the French protected Amauri against the Normans, who sided with Audin; who mutually accused each other of having caused the burning of Churches. Words ran high, and, at length, silence having been obtained, he who was to confirm the brethren spoke as follows:—"My dearest brothers, dispute not thus, multiplying

* Ap. Baronius.

words, but, as true children of God, seek peace with all your strength. Did not the Son of God descend from Heaven to give us peace? In his clemency He took a human body in the immaculate womb of the Virgin Mary, in order to calm with goodness the mortal war which arose from the crimes of our first parents, in order to be the mediator of this peace between the Creator and man, and to reconcile together the angelic and human nature. All of us who are his vicars amongst the people, should imitate Him in all things. Let us then use every effort to procure peace to his members, since we are the ministers and dispensers of the orders of God. The Christian people are the members of Christ, whom He has ransomed with his blood. Amidst the troubles of the world and the tumult of wars, who can worthily contemplate spiritual things, or meditate suitably on the divine law? We ought then in all things to embrace with fervour this peace, which can alone protect good men, and enable them to worship God. We ought to recommend it to all to preach it, as well by word as by example. The Christ, in the moment of his passion, left it with his disciples, saying, 'My peace I leave you; my peace I give to you.' When He rose from the dead, He recalled it to them, saying, 'Peace be unto you!' Peace is the general good of all reasonable creatures. This is what I must endeavour unceasingly to propagate with all my efforts in the whole Church. I prescribe the observance of the truce of God, as Pope Urban, of holy memory, established it in the council of Clermont. The Emperor of the Germans has invited me to Pont-à-Mousson, to make peace with him. I go thither for the sake of peace. I command all who do not accompany me, to wait here until our return. Pray for us, that our Lord God may turn our efforts to the peace and utility of the whole Church. On my return I will carefully examine your respective complaints, and determine, with as much justice as I can, that you may all return to your homes in peace and joy. I will then repair to the King of England, my spiritual son and cousin; and I will engage him, as also Count Thibaud his nephew, to render justice to every one for the love of God, and to put an end to the tumult of wars, that they may rejoice in the security of repose with the people, who are subject to them. Then after threatening with excommunication all who

should persist in these disorders, the assembly was dissolved, and the pope departed for Pont-à-Mousson *."

Pope Gregory the Great, in his letter to Agilulf, King of the Longobards, thanking him for having consented to peace, observes, "that his joy chiefly arises from the consideration that the king, by showing his love for peace, has shown his love for God ;" and then he adds, "what would have been the consequences of war, excepting that to the guilt and danger of both parties, the blood of the unhappy rustics, whose labour is profitable to both, would have been shed †." Hear another pontiff of that glorious name: "Gregory constituted, though unworthy, vicar of Him, who, to reconcile the servant to his Lord, being God, deigned to become man, willingly meditates councils of peace to those who are near, and to those who are far off, knowing the evangelic sentence, that 'Blessed are the peace-makers.' Moreover, the affection of especial love constrains us to endeavour to reconcile our dearest sons in Christ, the Kings of France and England, and their kingdoms, which we embrace in the bowels of the charity of Jesus Christ. Seeing and deploring that from the dissensions of war, besides that without peace of times, peace of the breast can scarcely be obtained, there necessarily arises irreparable danger to the bodies and to the souls of men ‡." "The Lord knoweth, who is the investigator of the reins and of the heart," says Pope Innocent III., while mediating between Parma and Placentia in 1199, "that to this matter we have proceeded with purity of intention, not that we should please one side to the detriment of the other, but that, fulfilling the duty of our office, we should either appease dissension by concord, or terminate it by a judgment §." In his charge to all the faithful of the patrimony of St. Peter, he beseeches them to live together in true peace. "Do not," he says, "give offence to each other. Let not a community offend a community, or a person a person, nor let a community offend a person except it be a robber or malefactor ; and if any one be offended, let him not immediately offend in his turn, but let him rather give

* Orderic Vit. xii.

† De Gestis Langobard. Pauli Diac. lib. iv. 10.

‡ Ap. Baluze, Miscell. iii. Mansi Append.

§ Epist. lib. ii. 39.

advice, that the offence may be corrected. And if a dispute should arise between any, let it be arranged by judges, saving always an appeal to the rector of the Apostolic patrimony*.”

Pope Alexander III. writes to Louis, King of France, in these terms—“Messengers having come to us from our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Rheims, and from the noble Count Henry, we have heard that a grievous contention has arisen between them, which is so much the more afflicting to us, as we desire that all the nobles of your kingdom might enjoy peace. Wishing, therefore, to appease, as we are bound, these contentions, we have attended to their respective petitions, and committed the termination of the cause to the Archbishop of Tours, and to another bishop, as to prudent men acquainted with the circumstances; but as the said count appears to have lately rebuilt certain castles to the great detriment of the archbishop, whereby the root of dissension has fresh nourishment, we, being disturbed and solicitous for their peace, ask and advise the royal greatness to interpose between them efficaciously, to take away every matter of quarrel, and to decide the cause either judicially, or, what we more desire, amicably, because it is better to apply in time when there is a rising malady, than to wait till it has acquired force; and it is very expedient to you and to your kingdom, that peace and concord should be re-established as soon as possible, between such great and potent men†.”

On another occasion the same pontiff writes to the king, “to urge him to attend diligently to restore peace between the same archbishop and the canons of his church, as it would be disgraceful to hear of a difference between those who ought to be of one mind‡.” No cause of dispute is too insignificant to excite his solicitude. He writes to the archbishop of Rheims to settle a cause between Odo of St. Denis, and Paganus Anglicus and his wife, concerning a certain window which looks over the great bridge. No obstacles seem too great for his intervention. Labouring to reconcile Henry II., King of England, and Lewis VII. of France, sending for that purpose into France two cardinals, and writing to

* Epist. lib. x. 132.

† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 935.

‡ Id. ii. 935.

Henry, the Archbishop of Rheims and Bishop of Soissons, to urge them to use all their efforts with the king, he says to them, "Although you should be repulsed once or twice, yet you must not desist, but persevere *." A long letter from him to the archbishop, desiring him to be a pacificator between England and France, concludes with these words, "You can do nothing that will gain for you more honour and glory, and a more copious fruit of eternal recompense, than if you labour to re-establish peace between these kings †." To the same prelate he gives this general instruction: "The dignity of the pontifical office, which by Divine grace you have obtained, ought to induce you to show yourself meek and gentle to your subjects; and if any cause of indignation should arise, it does not become your discretion to be moved suddenly against them; but if they should commit an offence, which can with a safe conscience be remitted without punishment, you ought mercifully to pardon the delinquents, or if correction be required, to administer it with such humanity that you should not seem severe ‡." Similarly, Pope Clement IV., in his bull in 1268, reproves the King of France, St. Louis, for having passed too severe laws against blasphemers, and prays him to soften them: and in another of the same year, he says to the King of Navarre, that he ought not to imitate the King of France in making such rigorous laws. On the rebellion of Saucius and Emanuel against their father, Alphonso, King of Castille and Leon, Pope Martin IV. writes to all the prelates and grand masters of the military orders of Spain; and after an eloquent statement of the horrors of such a war, he concludes in these terms: "Since then, brethren and sons, it is necessary to apply a speedy remedy to such evils, and provide, above all, against the peril of souls, we resolved instantly to have recourse to the Most High, who rules over the kingdoms of men, and with humble supplications to entreat that He would look down benignly on that kingdom and all inhabiting it, on that father and on these sons, to remove dissensions from them, to reconcile all hearts in the unity of concord, to grant them tranquillity, to consolidate and confirm them in that state, to restore the royal throne, that he may

* Ap. id. ii. præf. 4.

† Id. ii. 990.

‡ Id. ii. 1007.

preside so as to benefit ; so govern his state that he may direct his subjects to perpetual safety, quiet, and peace. You too we admonish to join with us in supplicating to this end the pacific King, whose peace surpasseth all understanding*.” Pope Benedict XI. writes in these terms to Robert, Count of Nevers, son of Guido, Count of Flanders, who was at war with Philippe le bel : “ The affection of intense charity and the fervour of love which make us provide generally for the pacific state of the whole world, induce us more especially to seek the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom of France, and of all its members, and of our beloved son the noble Count of Flanders, your father, and of you, his son, and of all the people of Flanders. Often have we admonished your father, and entreated him to acquiesce in our counsels. We deem it superfluous to repeat to you what has been urged before by the council of our brethren the cardinals, and our venerable brethren the patriarchs and other prelates. Let him consider his own advanced age, his days verging now nearer to their setting. Let him reflect on the slaughter of bodies, on the perils of souls, and the waste of treasure which arise from wars. Let him consider how alien such things ought to be from him who should offer to God an evening sacrifice, not of the slaughter of men, or the spoliation of property, but of good actions; and that, above all things, he should desire most fervently, and labour most intensely, to leave his sons and his subjects after the day of his own passage in peace. Since, therefore, the common opinion reports that you have favour in his eyes, we ask, admonish and require your nobility, enjoining it on you, for the remission of your sins, that you endeavour, by good counsels and opportune admonitions, to induce the said count to consider these things deeply, to meditate on the infinite danger attending war, that he should not place his hope in its uncertain issue, uncertain even when between equals ; that he should consider the multifarious good arising from peace, and that you, with the said count, your father, would embrace it. You should study to pass the flower of your youth in the good discipline of tranquillity and peace as far as you can, avoiding, not provoking war : and know assuredly that if you accede

* Ap. id. ii. p. 1292.

to our desires, we shall visit you with ample favours : otherwise, the disobedience of your father will be deemed by all to proceed from the sole root of pride, and we shall not be able with a safe conscience to fail the king in the prosecution of justice *.” Pope Sixtus IV. writes in these terms to a certain warrior, named Bartholomew of Angers : “ We have heard that you prepare for an expedition, and are about to march forth at the head of troops, with what object we know not ; but we deem it part of our pastoral office to admonish you paternally to do nothing which can prejudice the public utility ; for there should be no movement of troops at this time, when it is proposed to make a stand for the common safety. He who should cause any disturbance would expose himself to great infamy, and would sin against Almighty God. Therefore we exhort your nobility with charity, and admonish you with Apostolic authority to remain at rest, and not to blacken your fame for ever, and offend the Divine majesty, exposing your soul to eternal perdition †.” The same pontiff writes to Angelo Ursino in these terms : “ We understand, dear son, that there are daily incursions between you and our dear son Cichus de Nardinis, and that you have both taken up arms, injuriously to the repose of our people : therefore, since we cannot endure that the peace of our subjects should be disturbed, we wish and we command you, under pain of incurring our indignation and the guilt of rebellion, that on receiving these presents you lay down your arms, and cease from all acts of violence, and that within six days you, and also Cichus, whom we have similarly cited, should present yourselves before us, that we may be able to put an end to the strife that is between you ‡.” Clement VI. sent letters to all the abbots in the general Cistercian chapter in 1345, desiring that they would offer up their united prayers in that assembly to Him who alone is powerful, that of His ineffable goodness He would appease the troubled sea of this world, and still the tempestuous waves of war and dissension—that the faithful in the beauty of peace, and resting in tabernacles of confidence, may worship the Author of peace more devoutly, and the fear of evils being re-

* Ap. id. ii. p. 1305.

† Id. ii. p. 1493.

‡ Id. ii. 1514.

moved, may apply more intensely to works of piety*. Independently of these solemn acts, we should remark the eminently pacific character which generally belonged to the sovereign pontiffs. Their love of peace had long been tried before their election. Nicholas V., while cardinal at Arras, by his discourses and exhortations had softened the minds of the Kings of France and England, and of the Duke of Burgundy, and had secretly directed them to peace†. Benedict XI., of the Dominican order, had been a martyr of peace before his election. In 1297, when general of his order, he was sent into France by Boniface VIII. to make peace between that kingdom and England. In 1301 he passed into Hungary as legate à latere, to eradicate the discords which had desolated that country. Upon the death of Gelasius II., Conon, Cardinal of Palestrina, was immediately elected his successor in the monastery of Cluny, where the late Pope had died; but he refused the tiara, because as it was he who had fulminated the excommunication against the emperor, Henry V., he knew that he could never hope to make peace with him, and therefore the troubles of the church could not be terminated: therefore he resolutely resisted, and generously consulted only the interests of peace. The pacific heart of the man broke forth in the readiness of Paschal II. to terminate the dissension between the Church and empire, by resigning the lands which gave a title to the emperor to claim investiture. The bishops happily refused such terms, for, had they been conceded, the ruin of all civilization would have been the inevitable consequence. The affliction caused by wars to these pacific pontiffs is often described in an affecting manner. On one occasion the Colonnas and Ursinis having taken up arms, while King Ladislaus of Hungary secretly excited the Romans against Pope Innocent, Leonardus Aretinus, who was hastening to rejoin his friends at Rome, describes in these terms what he saw: "On the bridge of Adrien I found an armed force occupying it. However, I passed undiscovered, and on reaching my friends the first spectacle was the heap of slain upon the road. I stood horror-struck, and wept. Then I proceeded to the palace of the Pope, who, with wondrous grief, enquired what had

* Ap. id. i. p. 1455.

† Id. v. p. 457.

occurred, for all had passed unknown to him,—a man pacific and mild, from whose gentleness nothing could be more abhorrent than slaughter and the effusion of human blood: sad and oppressed, he deplored himself and his fortune, raising at times his eyes to heaven, as if invoking God to witness that he was innocent towards the Roman people. Through affliction he seemed not to know what ought to be done. At length it was determined he should fly to Viterbo, whence soon after he was recalled by the Roman people with astonishing applause and joy*.”

To the personal influence of the sovereign pontiffs many memorable treaties of peace must be ascribed. When Rachis, King of the Langobards, made war upon the exarch of Ravenna, the Pope's exhortations as a mediator made so profound an impression on the king, that he gave up his conquests, abdicated, and entered into the convent of Monte Casino, where Caroloman, brother of Pepin, had retired. Benedict XI., whose whole life was spent in making peace, employed his first efforts after his election in appeasing the civil dissensions fomented by the Colonnas, which disturbed the public peace. He pacified Denmark and other northern kingdoms, and put an end to the troubles which agitated the State and Church of France. By his intervention Venice was reconciled to Padua without bloodshed.

It was however chiefly by the instrumentality of legates, that the pacific desires of the holy see were furthered or accomplished, and the labours of these men in making peace, though passed over in silence by modern historians, can never be remembered without admiration and gratitude. Alluding to the part played by the sovereign pontiffs and their legates during the wars of the English in France, a great French writer observes, “how affecting it is to see these men of mercy following every where the men of blood, endeavouring to make them lay down their arms, imploring before the battle, weeping after it, always rejected, never weary, doves of peace, wandering from battle-field to battle-field with vultures†.” Thus in 1356, the Cardinal de Périgord was sent by the Pope to make peace between the two kingdoms, when he made

* Leonardi Aretini Commentarius, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xix.

† Chateaub. Discours. Hist. iv. 60.

such heroic, but fruitless exertions to stop the battle of Poitiers. After the battle of Cressi, it was by the mediation of the pope that a truce was made. Similarly the Cardinal d'Estouteville was commissioned by the holy see to make peace between them in the time of Charles VII. ; and the Cardinal of Ursini, in 1418, had the same mission. The character of these legates too, in general, agreed well with their office. The Cardinal Bishop Octavius, of Ostia, whom Innocent III. sent to Philip, of France, is thus described by the Bishop of Paris, "in his actions and words, urbanity tempers justice, and nothing can surpass his sweetness and benignity." At an earlier period it was at the solicitation of the Cardinal Melior, legate of the holy see and of the Abbot of Citeaux, that Philippe Auguste and Richard I. agreed to forget their quarrels. Hear Orderic Vitalis. King William, at the head of 60,000 horse, marched against the Angevins and Bretons, who had passed the Loire, and destroyed the boats which had transported them, to show their resolution to conquer or die. While the two armies prepared for action, and that the greatest part were reflecting upon death, and the woes which follow the death of the reprobate, a certain cardinal priest of the Roman church, and some religious monks, were there by the permission of God, and being divinely inspired, they went to the chiefs of the two armies to implore and reprimand them. They positively forbade them on the part of God to engage in battle, and in fine persuaded them to make peace. William of Evreux, Roger, some other counts, and great men, joined their efforts to theirs; the excessive ferocity of the ambitious was appeased before the messengers of Christ, who cast the seeds of peace; and the pale countenances of the terrified by degrees were changed. On this occasion, the Count of Anjou yielded his rights on Maine to Robert, the King's son*. The language of the sovereign pontiffs in sending their pacific ministers, is characteristic of their faith. Pope Urban IV. writes to Cardinal Simon de Bria in these terms. "Though all Christian regions deserve the apostolic favour of the holy see, yet to the kingdom of France we look with especial delight, as to the garden of our recreation, for

* Lib. iv.

there rules a devout king in a court full of faith and devotion, and attachment to the holy see. There dwell many excellent barons and nobles of admirable probity, and there is found a people that always evinces favour and constancy of faith. Therefore when the enemy of the human race, envious of peace, and a sower of weeds, excites troubles and scandals in that kingdom, endeavouring to infuse bitterness into the sweet delights of that terrestrial paradise, we feel deep and cruel wounds in our heart. Not without immense grief do we then reflect on the miserable condition of that kingdom, and on the enormities perpetrated in it : we are occupied in profound meditations and laborious vigils, that we may seek counsel from God to meet such a necessity. O that I could repair thither in person, consistently with the honour of God and the interests of the church, and of the faithful ! but since this is impossible in consequence of the variety of our affairs, we commit to you the office of legate—to re-establish peace in spirituals and temporals by the authority of these presents *.” Pope Gregory X. writes to the Bishop of Senlis and to the Abbot of St. Denis, committing to them the task of making peace between the King of Sicily and the Queens of France and England, and concludes thus : “ you will recollect that in assuming this pious labour, it is not us who love the same King and Queens with such paternal affection, that you will serve, but the Author of peace †.”

It would be long to specify the occasions on which legates à latere were sent to appease wars and discord. How many ministers of peace were sent during the pontificate of Innocent III. alone ! It was then that the legate Gregory, Cardinal of St. Mary, made peace between Ainric, King of Hungary, and his brother Andrew, whose war had desolated all that kingdom : that Martin, Prior of Camaldoli, after a labour of six months, made peace between the Milanese and the citizens of Pavia : that the Abbot of Casemare made peace between Philip, King of France, and John, King of England ‡. At mention of that name, there are men who now re-echo the complaint of some feudal lords who said, “ quod ancillavit regnum quod invenit liberum :” but they ought to consider the

* Martene, tom. ii. p. 1262.

† tom. ii. p. 1272.

‡ Gesta, tom. iii. 88.

situation in which England then was placed, exposed at once to civil war, and to a foreign invasion, from which she was delivered by the intervention of the holy see; and they ought to study the contemporary writings which bear such testimony to the noble and disinterested intention of Innocent, and his messengers of peace *. When the Scots in their distress after a terrible war applied to Pope Boniface VIII. who in consequence required King Edward to release his prisoners, and send agents to Rome, where “the cause between the two nations should be heard and decided, without spilling any more blood,” the reservations of that King, and the refusal of his nobility, only proved that their martial spirit obscured their knowledge of the universal recognized law of all Catholic nations, which sanctioned such an appeal to the Common Father, not as derogatory to their rights, but as conducive to the peace of Christendom.

In Italy alone, on how many memorable occasions was the pacific ministry of the sovereign pontiffs exercised? When Boniface VIII. heard that the Venetians and Genoese were making preparations for attacking each other, he sent solemn legates to both cities, requiring them to send ambassadors to him, and to make a truce on pain of excommunication, which ambassadors were accordingly sent to treat on a final arrangement †. Innocent V. made peace between Genoa and King Charles of France. Nicholas III. who was of the great Guelf family of the Ursini, sent, in 1278, brother Laurence of the Dominican order, to Bologna, where the Guelfs were then dominant, in order to make peace between the Jeremiensi's, who were Guelfs, and the Lambertazi's, who were Gibellines, and at that time in exile ‡. Gregory X. in 1272, with pious compassion moved, sent his legate to make peace between the citizens of Brescia, who received him with great joy §. Innocent II. in 1133, speaking of the discord and wars which had been caused between Genoa and Pisa by the enemy of the human race, whence had ensued the

* Epist. Inn. III. lib. xvi. 79, 80.

† Jacob. de Voragine, Chron. Januense, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

‡ Annal. Vet. Mutinens. ap. id. xi.

§ Jacob. Malvecii Chron. Brixian. Dist. viii. 85. ap. id.

slaughter of innumerable men, the captivity of Christians, and destruction of churches, expresses the desire of the holy see, providing for the salvation of soul, that so detestable a quarrel should be set at rest*. But it would be endless to mention all instances of the pacific action of the holy see. Let us leave then what Petrarch terms the quiet halls of the Roman pontiffs, and proceed to observe how well the great prelates of the universal church cooperated with them in maintaining or restoring peace.

We have already seen how, under extraordinary circumstances, their temporal power was employed for this end; it will be a more pleasing task to witness them in the ordinary exercise of their spiritual authority, as described by St. Jerome, making the visitation of their diocese, mounted on their pacific mule, knowing themselves to be fathers, not lords, preferring nothing to quiet and rest, establishing and diffusing peace†. Siffred, Bishop of Paderborn, in a diploma in 1186, begins by saying, “that since he has by his office undertaken to provide for the peace and tranquillity of the churches, he is bound to watch with anxiety, and to investigate wherever there is known to be any matter of disturbance‡.” We find them thus employed in the earliest times. Clovis, while a pagan warrior, being in relation with St. Remy, heard his advice, and abstained from many acts of wickedness to please him§. St. Epiphanius, Bishop of Pavia, deserved in 406 to be called the Pacificator of Italy||. To reconcile differences between high and low, is described as one of the constant occupations of St. Dunstan. When Duke Robert of Normandy was preparing to send a fleet to ravage Brittany with fire and sword, Robert the Archbishop, at the prayer of Alain, Count of Brittany, and in his company, went to Mount St. Michael, and presented himself as a mediator before the Duke, and “by the protection of Christ,” says William of Jumiege, “succeeded in soothing his anger, so that counter orders were sent to the fleet, and Brittany was spared¶.” In Irish history

* Stellæ Annales Genuenses, lib. i. c. 5. ap. id. xvii.

† Epist. xxxix.

‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. 970.

§ Hincmar. in Vit. Remigii.

|| Italia Sacra, i.

¶ Lib. vi. c. xi.

we read that the quarrels between the King Tordelvach and O'Melachlin, King of Meath, were settled by the interposition of Archbishop Gelasius and other prelates, who pledged them to a reconciliation on the altar of St. Kieran. In the midst of the constant storm of warfare in Ireland in those early times, the churchmen often succeeded in obtaining a truce or a peace. In the year 1099, when the two armies of Murkertach and the Hy Niell were waiting front to front, for the signal to engage, the Primate of Armagh interposing between them, succeeded by his remonstrance in preventing the battle. In the reign of Richard I. the Archbishop of Canterbury writes to the chapter of London, to announce "that it is impossible for him to proceed to his archiepiscopal see, because he is occupied in making peace between the Kings of France and England." Similarly, Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres, excuses his absence on one occasion by saying, "that he is engaged in making peace with difficulty*." Writing to Ebalus, Archbishop of Rheims, he says, "I suggest to you, though you do not want to be so admonished, that you should apply all your mind to the procuring of peace for the poor, whom kings and princes vehemently afflict†." And such importance does he attach to this duty, that he gives his opinion, that Guido may be suddenly raised from a layman to be a bishop, because he is a lover of peace, and duly elected by clergy and people‡. In 1151, Arnold, Archbishop of Cologne, writing to Wibald, Abbot of Corby, says, "the clergy, fearing lest this peace, as yet new and tender, might be easily disturbed by our absence, have persuaded us with great urgency of prayers, to postpone our journey to the Lord Pope, until the peace shall be fully consolidated, so as to be secure from interruption even after our departure§." Peter of Blois describes the successor of St. Thomas in the see of Canterbury, Richard, who had been Prior of Dover, as "a man of consummate prudence and wisdom, who was in the habit of overcoming immense difficulties in making peace and appeasing quarrels||." Alluding to him in a letter to the prior and convent of Evesham, he says, "I wonder that

* Fulb. Carnot, Episcop. xviii.

† Id. liii.

‡ Epist. xxxviii.

§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 493.

|| Pet. Bles. Ep. 142.

my Lord of Canterbury has not found a remedy for this trouble ; for he is in habits of composing desperate litigations, and of appeasing inexorable discords among the great *." Writing to Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, a mediator of peace, he says, " you have come bearing peace, and illuminating the country, and I wish that peace may be in your days ; that is, true peace, the peace of God, which no one can give †." Addressing another bishop, he says, " if you will only imitate the life of your uncle the Archbishop of Rouen, you will be meek and affable, mild with the froward, and pacific with those who hate peace ‡." Gerbert, previous to becoming Sovereign Pontiff, evinced also wondrous solicitude after the death of Lewis, to make peace and preserve order : magnanimous when in exile in Germany and Italy, and at Rheims full of benignity towards his enemies. St. Hugues, of Lincoln, died in London, in the midst of his labours to reconcile England and France, and procure peace for the people of the two countries. When Philip Augustus and the Comte de Hainault were about to renew their battles, and had parted with threats, the Bishop of Arras intervened, calmed the irritation of sovereign and vassal, and led them to sign a treaty. The Archbishop of Canterbury appears at Runemede as a pacificator, by whose intervention peace was made between the king and the barons §. Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury in King Richard's days, is styled " a bridle unto the King, and obstacle of tyranny, the peace and comfort of his people ||."

The King of Ireland had offended Henry Plantagenet : Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, hastened to London to effect a reconciliation. Henry rejected his mediation, and embarked for Normandy. The holy prelate delayed not to follow him, and by his prayers succeeded in appeasing him. His mission of peace was accomplished. On his return he was seized with a sudden illness : seeing a castle and town near, he asked the name from a shepherd, and heard that it was Eu. It was on the 7th of

* Ep. cxlii.

† Epist. cxxxviii.

‡ Petr. Bos. de Institutione Episcopi.

§ Radulfi Coggeshali Libellus de Motibus Anglican. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

|| Godwin in Vit.

November, 1181, that he arrived in the convent of canons regular of our Lady, at the skirts of that town, where he took to his bed, died, and left his bones. But no sufferings could daunt these pacific prelates. Gerard in the eleventh century, Bishop of Séez, though at the time oppressed with sickness, repaired to the castle of Courcy, belonging to Gilbert de l'Aigle, which Robert de Bellême was besieging: his object was to reconcile these two lords; but Bellême received him ill, and arrested his page Richard de Gasprée, under pretence that this young clerk was acting the part of a spy, while riding on horseback through the camp. The bishop in vain claimed him; and such was his sorrow, that it is said to have hastened his death. He was a most holy man. All that could be decyphered on his tomb in the cathedral, were these words,

“ Apud Deum et homines laudabilis *.”

The great Ives de Chartres was eminent for his labours in making peace. He reconciled Raoul de Beaugeney and Thibaud IV. Count of Blois, and many others. Italy has to bless the memory of a multitude of bishops who made peace in cities that had been torn with the feuds of Guelf and Gibelline †. What labours did the bishops of Acerno endure in appeasing the enmities of that people, who were peculiar for the violence of their passions, though otherwise virtuous ‡. But let us hear the Chronicles. In 1288, peace was made in Modena between the Grasulfi's and Aigone's without, and the Aigone's within the walls, by the Bishop of Modena §. In 1213, Albert de Regio, Bishop of Brescia, made peace in that city between the nobles and the people; being a man venerated equally by both ||. Francis Soderino, Bishop of Volterra, happening to be in Florence in a great sedition, went out in public, clad in his pontifical vestments, and by his authority and eloquence appeased the people who were about to devour each other. The

* De Maurey d'Orville, Recherches Hist. sur la Ville et le Diocese de Séez.

† Italia Sacra, ii. 573.

‡ Id. vii. 446.

§ An. Vet. Mutinens ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

|| Jacob. Malvecii. Chron. Brixian. vii. c. 92. ap. id. xiv.

speech of Gerard, Bishop of Padua, to Eccelino de Romana, when the latter was about to make war against the Lords of Campo St. Pietro, was memorable. The bishop went to both armies, and like another Orpheus, by the sweetness of his tones, appeased these tigers. Calling Eccelino first, he said, “*Qui timet Deum facit bona*. We know and we read in sacred and profane history, that they who fear God acquire honour, while tyrants glorying in their malice, after a miserable life, finish it in tribulation and shame. Where is now Pharoh, or Goliath, or Herod, or Nero? Their memory has perished with a sound, and they are blotted out of the book of the living. Therefore we exhort you in the Lord, to have God and our Lord Jesus Christ always before your eyes, and not to make this war, lest towns be destroyed, provisions scattered, widows, orphans, and the poor reduced to beggary, hospitals and holy churches overthrown: but take up the arms of justice, and be the soldiers of God and of faith. We desire you then to disband your forces, and to leave this question to be decided by the council of Padua.” Then turning to the Lords Gerard and Tiso, of the camp of St. Peter, and the Lord Marquis Azo, commencing with the words, “*Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi*,” he spoke to the same effect and prevailed. So the forces being dismissed, the bishop returned to Padua, and the marshes remained for some years in happy peace *. Aldobrandini, Bishop of Orvieto, in the thirteenth century received Gregory X. at Orvieto. When the Pope was leaving him, his holiness desired him to ask some favour with confidence for himself or for his church. He replied, “I have no other favour to ask, holy father, but to implore you to put an end to the troubles of Florence, my beloved unhappy country. I desire nothing so ardently as to see peace restored to a people so dear to me; but since it is absolutely impossible there should ever be a solid peace as long as a party spirit reigns there, I pray your holiness to proscribe even the name of the two factions, Guelf and Gibelline, in order that all the citizens reunited in common interests, may henceforth form but one people in the charity of Jesus Christ, who has left us

* Rolandini de Factis in Marchia Tarvis. lib. i. c. 5. ap. id. tom. viii.

his peace, as the mark that we are his children, and the pledge of the felicity which we hope for in the future life*."

James de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa in the thirteenth century, was another of these glorious pontiffs who procured peace for men. One of his maxims, at least, may be permitted to pass for golden. "Though too great mercy be fatuity," he says, "and too great justice cruelty, it is better to have to render account to God for the former than for the latter †." He died as he had lived, and was buried in the church of St. Dominic, to whose order he belonged. His love for the poor was unbounded. But it was as pacificator, composing the feuds between Guelf and Gibelline, which had long divided Genoa, that we must now speak of him. In 1292 he composed many of these dissensions ‡; and in 1295 he restored love and harmony to the whole city, ratifying a general peace between all the citizens §. In relating this great event, the humble bishop omits all mention of his own labours, and puts a strange face on his own perfection. "In 1295 there was made," saith he, "a general peace in Genoa between the Gibellines and Guelfs, whose perilous dissensions had endured sixty years, and would have lasted longer, but by the grace of our Saviour all were this year, in the month of January, brought to concord; so that they became now one society, one fraternity, one body. This caused such transports that the whole city was full of jubilation and immense joy. We also, in the Parliament, when the peace was declared, sung aloud with our clergy the 'Te Deum Laudamus,' having with us four mitred persons, bishops and abbots. Then after dinner, all the troops following us, we, clothed in our pontificals, on a horse covered with trappings, rode joyfully through the whole city, giving the benediction of God to all the people, and returning thanks to God. But, alas! as pure goods are in heaven, and pure evils in hell; and here both good and evil are mixed; we had soon to deplore troubles caused by the envious

* Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. passim.

† Jacob. de Vorag. Chronic. Januense, P. x. c. 20. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

‡ Italia Sacra, iv. 888.

§ Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. i. liv. 6.

enemy of human peace, which, however, were finally appeased by the creation of two captains, Conrad Spinula and Conrad Doria : and so the city had rest from battles*.” In later times we find the scholars of Italy, notwithstanding their admiration for pagan examples, capable of appreciating the sublime majesty of such men as these. Thus one of them describes John of Selva, Archbishop of Milan, pacifying that republic like a deity, and conciliating by his piety and moderation the respect and love of all men †. Of these pontifical labours in making peace, the German historians give examples without number. Thus, in 1289, we read that the archbishops and bishops make peace between Andrew, King of Hungary, and Albert, Duke of Austria ‡. When Tholo found sitting at the feet of blessed Hartmann, Bishop of Brescia, the man who had slain his brother, and whom he had long sought for in all public places in order to kill him, the terror and remorse which seized him at the sight, and his pacific departure, without any attempt to injure his enemy, through reverence for the bishop, is compared by old writers to the miraculous staying of Attila at the gates of Rome by the presence of the holy Pope §. “The peace which angels announced to men at the birth of Christ, this holy pontiff,” say they, “endeavoured to convey to others ; for he was pacific to those who hated peace ; so that often before persons of the most humble condition he would lie prostrate on the earth, beseeching them to be reconciled to each other. From the day when the Counts of Espan had refused to accede to his mediation and make peace with the Tyrolese, who desired to accept it, men remarked that though up to that time by far the most powerful, they were always worsted in war ||.” Hillein, in the twelfth century, on becoming Archbishop of Treves, found the province still smoking with the war between his predecessor and Henry, the Count of Namur ; but he extinguished the flame, not by arms, but by peace—not by animosity, but by gentleness—not by temerity, but by reason. So he took away occasion of injury from the tyrants ; and when he could

* Chronic. Januense, ap. id. tom. ix.

† Joan. Pyrrh. Epist. ap. Goldast. Philologicar. Epist. 32.

‡ Chronic. Claustro-neoburgense, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

§ Id.

|| Id.

not otherwise, under a form of decency, he purchased peace for the churches and people of God. Thus, in time of wrath, he was made a reconciliation. No one could describe his ability and foresight, so that the country in his days had rest from wars. His pious art in preventing them and securing peace was commemorated on his tomb. It was he who built the towers in the castles of Tris and of Manderscheit*. In the same century Arnold, Archbishop of Treves, recalled all the nobles of the province to peace and concord, not alone by frequent admonition and correction, but also by a liberal distribution of great gifts; and when he was blamed by some for this, who deemed it disgraceful that a man so rich and powerful—who ought, as they said, to resist by force the injustice of tyrants—should give his treasures to them as if through fear of men, he humbly answered, “God is my witness that I do so for the sake of God, for whose love I would rather give away mine own than involve myself in wars by which I should give occasion to wicked men to exercise robberies, homicides, and other crimes against the Churches and the poor of Christ. Therefore, I choose, by dispensing my treasures, to repress the insolence of the violent, that I may redeem both those who inflict and those who suffer injury, whom Christ deigned to redeem with his blood.” Nevertheless this archbishop was brave and strenuous, and resolute in defending justice even by force of arms, as when he opposed Frederick, son of Duke Matthew, and the sister of the Emperor Frederic, whom he besieged in his castle of Sigerbech, and compelled to live at peace; as also when he repressed the Count of Nassau, and opposed the exactions even of the Emperor himself; so that it was only his own that he liberally gave away for the sake of peace†. Engelbert de Monte, in 1217, was elected Archbishop of Cologne, a true man of peace and defender of the poor. He was assassinated by his relation, the Count of Isenburg, as he travelled in a hollow way going into Westphalia, in revenge for his having protected against him the convent of Essendiens. This prelate used always to say, “that without money he could not

* *Gesta Trevirensium Arch.* ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* iv. 209.

† *Id.*

make peace in the land *.” In the twelfth century, Adalbero, Archbishop of Treves, on one occasion made peace in a singular manner. The Saxons, with Duke Henry, had appointed a day and the place of Hersfeld, to try by a general battle, the justice of their respective titles to the crown. That prelate, who had promised to come with twenty knights, arrived with five hundred, and thirty hogsheads of wine, besides an immense supply of victuals. Then, with the divine assistance, he laboured successfully in making peace between the rivals at the moment when so many thousand had met in great hatred and eagerness to fight. So having composed all things in peace, he sent a hogshead of wine to each of the princes, especially to the Saxons; and in this we should note the subtle genius of the archbishop, who deemed that plenty of wine and victuals would conduce more to victory than thousands of starving men. So, again, when the Counts of Molbach and of Zeina had long waged war with each other, the whole country would have been laid waste, if Adalbero, the archbishop, had not intervened by his counsel: for it was his custom frequently to assemble his suffragans and the princes and nobles of the province, and to administer large stipends to them, and to treat with them concerning the peace of the country †. “When Albero, brother of the Duke of Louvain, became Bishop of Liege,” says another chronicle, “it was delightful to see what peace returned to the country by his means ‡.” In 1464, John, Archbishop of Magdeburg, succeeded the pacific Frederic, who left a name celebrated among angels and men for his love of peace. John also loved peace and concord. Whenever discords arose between princes, as those between William, Duke of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Thuringia; or between princes and states, as did still oftener, he laboured to appease them. The chronicler who thus speaks mentions also Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, then living, as another lover and propagator of peace; as also Bertold de Hennenberg, Archbishop of Mayence,

* *Annales Novesienses*, ap. id. iv.

† *Gesta Trev. Arch.* ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* iv. 207.

‡ *Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leodiens.* ap. Martene, *Vet. Script.* iv. 1082.

a man eminently pacific *.” Sometimes, unable to accomplish their mission, such prelates resigned it to other hands. Godefred, Archbishop of Treves, had been beloved by clergy and people before his elevation: but the year after, some of his clergy began to rise against him, and to calumniate him, “whether with truth or not I know not,” says the chronicler; “God knows: but at length, seeing that on his account fraternal charity was wounded in the Church, some adhering to him and others resisting him, lest he should be the cause of division, he abdicated the see in the third year of his episcopacy †.” In the year 1000, when a great discord prevailed between the nobles and people of Milan, the Archbishop Herebert, finding all his efforts to make peace fruitless, on the two parties coming to open war, voluntarily withdrew to another place; for he was unwilling to act against the nobles who were now expelled, being himself sprung from them; nor would he contend against the people, because he always showed himself their father and pastor; but he used to speak words of charity. This man of peace thus prevented, was nevertheless of such reputation in Italy, that there was no duke or marquis that would oppress any one unjustly if the pastoral staff of Archbishop Herebert was carried and fixed in the place; and no question arose that did not immediately cease until it was discussed before him ‡. But the fact is, that the difficulties opposed to peace were sometimes insurmountable. The obstacles to be overcome were so great, that old writers compare such bishops to sheep among wolves. St. Bernard says, on one occasion, “Then the man of God understood that he was destined to preach, not to men, but to animals.” Still their courage and ability were often crowned with success. When St. Hugues, Bishop of Lincoln, was chosen ambassador to treat of peace with Philip Augustus, he showed such talents in the negotiation that the most skilful diplomatists of the time were astonished. It was in the solitude of his ancient cloister that he had learned the art which enabled

* Chronic. Terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.

† Gest. Trever. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

‡ Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediolanens. 145. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

him now to make peace between two kings. The calm self-possession dictating a playful ease, with which they accosted the most terrible potentates, aided them not a little. 'This same pontiff, having offended the King of England, was introduced into his presence, whom he found in great wrath sitting in his hall, sucking his finger, which had been hurt and wrapped in a cloth. Then Hugo, wishing to lead him from pride, said to him in a jesting tone, "How like you are now to your relations of Falaise!" The King, admiring his constancy, could not forbear laughing; and said to his astonished courtiers, "Do you not perceive the impertinence of the man? The mother of my ancestor William was a furrier's daughter of Falaise, and this prelate, seeing me sucking my finger, says I resemble the Falasians, and that I am their relation." Then they all laughed, and Hugo was received in peace and honour *. That urbanity and sweetness of address, with that true liberality of mind which in every age has distinguished the episcopal character, must always have produced the effect which Talleyrand described when he said, speaking of the Bishop of Evreux, "His house was open to men of all political parties; and he made use of the influence arising from his sweetness and his great age to reconcile rivals and enemies; for persons in the same room with the bishop could not be far from understanding each other." Their eloquence was of itself a most efficacious instrument of peace. That of James de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, is described as being truly wonderful in his mother tongue. He was so studious of St. Augustin, that he could repeat nearly all his volumes by heart, besides being deeply versed in the Old and New Testament, of which he was the first to give a translation in the Italian †. The words of such men almost irresistibly infused peace, even where the fight was all within men. A contemporary writes as follows to Leander, Archbishop of Seville: "I have received the letter of your holiness, written with the pen of charity; for every thing on the paper bore the tint of what was in the heart. Some good and wise men were present when it was read to them, and their breasts were immediately moved to compunction. Each one began in

* Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. lib. iii. c. xi.

† Italia Sacra, iv. 888.

his heart to give you the hand of affection, for in that letter one not merely heard, but beheld, the sweetness of your mind. They were kindled and filled with admiration; and that fire of heaven demonstrated what was the ardour of the writer; for what must be the intensity of that fire of charity in your mind which could so instantaneously kindle others*!" Their eloquence derived its force from the deep religious conviction which inspired it; their style was that of Christian simplicity; and all their motives in regard to their own enemies or those of other men, were drawn from the sermon on the Mount. A dissension having arisen between Henry, Bishop of Minden, and Wibald, Abbot of Corby, Bernard, Bishop of Paderborn, writes in 1151 to the former, in these terms: "Since we are commanded to follow the things which are of peace; and since eternal beatitude is promised to the pacific, therefore, through the love of peace we think it right to labour in order to destroy the root of discord which has grown between you and the Abbot of Corby†." His mediation was successful, for we have the letter of Wibald to the Bishop of Minden, expressing his joy at the bishop's proffer of reconciliation, and declaring that henceforth he will labour to conduct the bishop's cause with as much zeal as if it were his own; that where discord abounded, charity and grace may the more abound. The Emperor Conrad's letter to the bishop is also extant, in which he congratulates and praises him on having made peace with the monks of Corby. In 1267, Otho Visconti, Archbishop of Milan, having placed the city under an interdict in consequence of the Turriani having violently seized the goods of the Church, these nobles accused him to the Pope, and demanded his deposition. His language on different occasions during this dissension might be cited as another example. "I, indeed," he said in the Pope's presence, "was born in the city of Milan, which I love so much that I would willingly have my head cut off, if by that suffering I could procure peace for all the citizens." Being, however, driven into banishment with the nobles by a violent faction excited by the Turriani, and in 1275 coming to Vercelli, he was

* Ant. Hispalensis Bibliotheca Hispana, lib. iv. c. 4.

† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 431.

addressed by the nobles of Milan, who begged that he would place himself at their head while endeavouring to regain possession of their homes. They reminded him of the death of Count Gotfried de Languscho and Tibald, his own nephew, who had been so dear to him, and the death of others who had fallen in this contest. Otho replied as follows: "It is the part of an archbishop to spare, and not to punish or take vengeance. I wish peace, and to lead back the proscribed to their homes. I wish to be the captain and leader of you all, provided you lay aside anger against your enemies, and invoke the divine assistance." This pacific man was thus, against his desire, drawn into many battles. After incredible sufferings, which he endured with heroic fortitude, he was present with the nobles in their great victory in 1277, at Dexio, against Napus de la Turre, and Francis de la Turre, the lords of the city of Milan. Already the podesta and Francis were among the slain, when Otho learned that the father, Napus de la Turre, was wounded. Then moved to compassion, all unarmed as he was, he ran to the spot to prevent his being slain; and seeing him so miserably prostrate on the ground, he shuddered and wept, and tried to console him with friendly words. Then Count Richard de Lomello came up, seeking vengeance for the death of Count Gotfried de Languscho, but he was prevented by the archbishop. Meanwhile the people of the city, many of whom had been at all times friendly to Otho, sent ambassadors to say that they would receive back the nobles and the archbishop. Then Otho, having assembled the nobles, spoke to them thus: "Let no one draw a sword, or spoil either poor or rich. Let no one remember injuries or wounds; for it would not become an archbishop to return to his see with joy while others were mourning the loss of their property or of their blood. But let us all enter the city singing the praises of God." The nobles promised to obey him; and he, seeing that every one meant to spare his enemies, said, "Let us go, then, to Milan with benedictions." Then came forth the monks and clergy, and all the people, crying "Peace! peace!" Though from the day of recovering his see he rendered to no enemy evil for evil, but prohibited all enmities, we find his subsequent life full of troubles, till at last, in 1292, he made a peaceful end in

Clairvaux *. The letter of Ives de Chartres to the clergy and laity of his diocese, when they sought by force of arms to deliver him from the prison into which he had been so barbarously thrown by the viscount, is a still more remarkable instance, as recalling the heroic self-devotion of St. Leger, Bishop of Autun in the seventh century, when he gave himself up to Ebroin, rather than draw down the calamities of war upon that city. The Bishop of Chartres writes in these terms: "I absolutely forbid you to do this; for by firing houses and robbing the poor, you cannot please, but offend God, without whose aid neither you nor any one else can deliver me: for it would not be decent that I, who did not come to the episcopacy with warlike arms, should recover it by such means, which belong not to a pastor, but to an invader. If the hand of the Lord hath touched me, permit me alone to drink the cup of my misery, and sustain the wrath of my God, till He shall justify my cause. For I am resolved not only to suffer imprisonment and deprivation of ecclesiastical honours, but also to die, rather than that for me there should be a slaughter of men. Only remember that when Peter was kept in prison, the Church prayed unceasingly for him. So do ye for me. Be content with the limits placed by our fathers; and may the God of peace and consolation grant that in this and in all other matters you may think and do what is right †."

A difference between the Count of Savoy and the Dauphin being referred to certain arbiters, Guillaume Royn, Bishop of Grenoble, opened the conference with these words: "O, palpable darkness of human minds, not to know the good of peace, by which kingdoms flourish and republics are extended. Place the evils of war before your eyes, when there are not engaged, perhaps, twenty men who know each other, or who would cause each other displeasure, and who, if they met elsewhere, would not wish to serve each other; and yet, thus marshalled, they all run at each other like mad dogs to tear each other to pieces. Think of the horrible rage and the fearful circumstances of war; and what is the end of the tragedy but churches and sanctuaries pillaged

* Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediolanens. c. 313. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

† Ivon. Carnot. de Epist. xx.

and profaned, towns burnt, villages reduced to solitude ? Let us endeavour then to bring over princes to concord, that our poor people may have peace, and all states of our country enjoy beatitude *.” I have wearied my reader by these examples ; but they were not uncalled for. When next he sees the magnificent sepulchre of one of these princely bishops of the middle ages, perhaps he will be less quick to assent to those who take occasion from the view of such tombs to argue, that the powerful churchmen of those days can have no title to the gratitude of the pacific. Even though he should not expressly read on it, “ *Amator pacis*,” as he may find on that of Philip, Bishop of Utrecht, the son of Philip the good Duke of Burgundy ; or, “ *Qui in vita sua pacem dilexit, bona pace quievit*,” as on that of Hugo, Bishop of Auxerre †, perhaps he will be no less inclined to believe that the vault beneath his feet contains the ashes of one who, though potent, abhorred all violence, and who lived diffusing peace.

I have now to speak, in fine, of men, the sole object of whose present existence appeared to be the attainment and diffusion of social and intellectual tranquillity. The clergy in general had a complicated duty to fulfil : the sovereign pontiffs had to govern, with a vigorous arm, the universal church,—bishops had often to contend and to resist,—but monks and friars, though always the first to combat and to suffer for justice, seemed, even in the combat, to have had only one ministry and one desire—the diffusion of peace—to seek peace and follow it themselves, and to persuade other men to seek and follow it. The pontiffs and prelates, whom we have just seen, are witnesses to prove the pacific influence of the cloister, for most of them had been called from the cells of monasteries, where they had learned the science which enabled them to still the tempests of the world. In the first ages of the Church society beheld, issuing from convents, those who bore the caduceus which the true Apollo found. In the sedition of Antioch, the monks came down from their mountains, and placed themselves at the palace gate, imploring grace for the guilty. One of them, Macedonius, met in the streets two officers of

* Paradin Chronique de Savoie.

† Martyrolog. Ec. Antissiodor.

the emperor. Seizing one of them by the cloak, he invited them to alight from their horses: "Friends," cried the hermit, "intercede for the blood of the guilty; tell the emperor that his subjects are also men made in the image of God; that if he is angry on account of some bronze statues, a living and rational image is far preferable. When the former are destroyed, others can be made like them; but who will give a hair to the man who has been slain."

Rome herself, when taken by Totila the second time, owed some mitigation of her sufferings to the prayers of St. Benedict, whose sanctity was respected by the barbarian. But let us pass on at once to the scenes recorded in the histories of the middle ages.

"King Henry," says Orderic Vitalis, "making war against his brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, laid siege to Tinchbrai. In the two armies were brothers and relations opposed to each other. Many monks endeavoured to prevent a combat and the effusion of blood. The hermit Vital, more ardent than the rest, boldly forbade them to come to extremities, lest one should witness revived the detestable crime of the sons of Œdipus *."

When the citizens of Beneventum, in the ninth century, took up arms against those of Spoleta, each party being determined to carry on war till it conquered or perished, the man of God, St. Adalhard, Abbot of Corby, walked to and fro between their furious ranks as a herald of reconciliation; nor did he desist until he had made them renew their treaty, and ratify it with a kiss †. St. Ailred, proceeding into Galloway, found the ruler of that country in deadly hatred against his sons, the sons against the father, and the brothers against each other, a feud which the king and the bishop had vainly endeavoured to quell. The soil was stained with blood; but Ailred not only pacified them, but prevailed on the father to assume the monastic habit; and thus he taught him, who had deprived so many of life, to become a partaker of life eternal ‡.

* Ord. Vit. lib. xi.

† Vita S. Adal. ap. Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iv. p. 1.

‡ Bolland. Acta Sanc. Jan. tom. i.

The pacific influence of St. Bernard alone might occupy a volume. In 1132 he made peace between the Pisans and Genoese *. In 1134 he was an arbiter of peace for the Milanese. Again, he made peace between Louis, King of France, and Theobald, Count of Champagne. The infamous Count of Vermandois being excommunicated, Louis le jeune was exasperated to such fury, that he carried war and devastation over the whole of Champagne because he suspected the count of having procured the sentence to avenge the injury of his daughter ; and it was on occasion of this atrocious war, directed against all things sacred and profane, that St. Bernard wrote these grand and thundering letters to the king and his counsellors. “ By a secret judgment of God,” he says to the former, “ you form to yourself false ideas of every thing ; you regard as an affront what is honourable to you, and as an honour what covers you with infamy : you fear where there is no ground for fear, and you do not fear in the midst of danger.” In fact, the view of the judgments of God with which the saint menaced him caused him such an apprehension, that he fell into a state of languor ; abandoned affairs, and gave himself up to weeping. Suger endeavoured, in vain, to console him. The king said that no one but St. Bernard could heal the wound of his heart. When the saint heard of his penitence, being entreated to hasten and wipe away his tears, he replied that many tears were wanting in order to extinguish the flames of Vitri, and to wash out the blood which had been unjustly shed. However, he repaired to the court, and represented to the king the enormity of his crimes, but at the same time the necessity of not giving way to despair, flying into opposite excesses from those which had caused his misery. He told him to evince the sincerity of his penitence by commanding his furious passions for the future, by humility, contrition, and application to the affairs of his kingdom. Each time that the gates of the monastery opened for this man of God to visit the stormy scenes of the world, it was an angel of peace that came forth to dissipate contention. One time he came to announce to Louis le gros, with all the authority of a prophet, the destiny of his family and of his crown, and to reconcile

* Angelo Manrique Cisterciensium Annal. i. 6.

him with the bishops; at another, after directing his monks to prayer, it was to enter the camp of Louis le jeune to make him throw aside the sword already turned against Thibaut, Count of Champagne; at another, it was to promise the queen that she should have a son, provided she would conclude a peace; at another, it was to save the city of Metz from the fires of a war which were to reduce it to ashes. His was, indeed, a life in glory shrined. But where shall we find a monastery in ages of faith that did not send out some blessed peacemaker to heal the world? The monks of New Corby in 1148 had written to their abbot, Wibald, urging him to return, and complaining of his having remained absent so long in the monastery of Stavelo in the Ardennes, over which house also he presided; and he replied in these words, "That your fraternity may know that the time has not been spent idly by us, be it known to you that we have made peace, God being its author, until the feast of St. Remy, between the Count of Namur and the Counts of Lon and of Dashburgh, whose dissensions had lacerated the whole country. We have, besides this, effected a definitive and salutary concord for the whole land between the Count of Rupe, who is our advocate, and the Count of Monte Acuto, who, by the incitements of many, had waged great wars against each other. And what are your chief and pressing motives for now urging us? Truly, that the old women round your walls are reckoning upon their fingers, and saying, like prophetesses, 'He will not return!' Lo, these are your wars—these your desolations*!" In 1151 the same Wibald excused himself to the Bishop of Liege for not having been present at the colloquy of Huy, as he was labouring to procure peace and tranquillity for the Christian people, and preventing tyrants from rushing to arms†. The Abbot of St. Godehard of Hildeshiem, writing to him to beg that he would be reconciled with Henry, the former abbot, knew what arguments would best move such a man; for his words are, "I beseech you by Him who is the true peace, Christ, and by regard to the reward which in the Gospel is promised to the pacific‡." Allusion to such events occur repeatedly in the monastic diaries. Thus, in the annals of Corby, we read that in

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 255.

† Id. ii. 485.

‡ Id.

1168, a discord about hunting, between the Counts of Everstein and Homborch, was appeased at Corby by two abbots: that in 1170 the lay magistrates of Stockhusen chose the abbot for arbiter of their quarrels, that in 1334 the contests between Albrecht de Stochem and Margaret de Nannexen, about lands and regalities, were appeased by the abbot: that in 1337 Lippold de Luthorst and Adam of Olterhusen chose the Abbot Tideric for their arbiter *.

Some time previous to the year 1194, Udo de St. Cloud gave to the priory of Montreuil, near Versailles, some land which Hugues de Crespieres pretended belonged to his fief. Udo St. Cloud had a son, named Raoul, who offered to prove his father's right by duel. The monks of the priory, in order to prevent the combat of the champions, paid to Hugues a sufficient sum to induce him to desist from his claim †.

In 1149 the horses of Corby were stolen one evening while the monks were at supper. Theodoric, Count of Huxaria, was challenged to combat by Reiner de Porta, who promised to prove by battle that the lord abbot's horses were stolen and slain by advice of the said Theodoric. He, therefore, becoming a man suspected and hateful on that account, and wishing to purge himself, accepted the challenge. The domestics and dependants of the abbey besought the abbot, Wibald, to have the matter settled, either by justice or by mercy. The abbot chose eight persons, to whom the case was referred, and by his authority prevented the duel, and Theodoric swore, on the sacred relics of St. Vitus, that it was without his knowledge or will that the horses were stolen. Then the abbot reconciled Theodoric and Reinher ‡.

Abbots used sometimes to make peace between citizens and bishops, who were for defending their feudal rights against them by force. Thus, in 1326, it was the Abbot of St. Nicaise, at Rheims, who made peace between the Bishop of Liege and the citizens: again, in 1346, it was the same abbot who reconciled the Chapter

* *Annales Corbienses* ap. Leibnitz. *Scriptor. Brunsvicensia Illustrantium*, tom. iii.

† *Le Bœuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris*, viii. 341.

‡ *Ap. Martene, Vet. Script.* tom. ii. 330.

of Liege with the Lord of Heinsberch ; and so, in 1371, it was the Abbot of St. Bavo who treated to conciliate the Bishop of Liege and the city*.

What care the blessed Stephen, Abbot of Obazina, in the diocese of Limoges, in the twelfth century, evinced to promote peace, will appear from one example, related by a contemporary writer. "A quarrel arose between Raimund, Viscount of Turenne, and a certain nobleman, by name William. The cause was a hawk belonging to the viscount, which William obtained, and refused to give back. Satan can cause calamities by the least things ; so the viscount, not so much on account of the hawk as of the insult, declared war, and said that he would ravage all the domains of the said William, unless he restored the bird. William only resolved the more strenuously to keep it, for he desired nothing more than war that he might have occasion to plunge upon the rich territories of the viscount. So fearing lest by any accident the hawk might be taken from him, and this favourable opportunity for war be lost, he sent it to a certain powerful nobleman who resided at a great distance, and who, like himself, desired war and plunder. This holy man, perceiving by these events how evils were multiplying, and how the whole country was about to be exposed to the ravages of armed bands, went first to the viscount, and reproved him for intending to vex and destroy a Christian people for the sake of a bird : he implored him to overlook the deed, or, if not, to punish only the guilty without making the innocent people suffer for it. But seeing that his remonstrances availed nothing, he tried another way, and pledged himself to bring back the hawk if the viscount would immediately disband his forces, and give the men leave to return to their homes. The viscount assenting to this, he being armed with faith, and in confidence like a lion, immediately presented himself to the troops, and, on the viscount's authority, commanded them to separate and repair to their respective abodes. He then proceeded to the residence of William, but hearing that the hawk had been sent away, he set off without hesitation to find the nobleman to whom it had been confided, though it was then the depth of winter, and though the distance was so

* Chron. Cornelii Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

great; for when it was a question of making peace, nothing seemed difficult to him, and he was ready to die, or leave his country for ever, rather than not exert his utmost to secure it. On arriving at that nobleman's castle, as soon as he presented himself, the Lord demanded who he was, and what was his business; but as soon as he learned the object of his visit, he not only refused point blank, but ordered him to be chased from his presence with insult. All this the holy abbot bore patiently; so he withdrew fasting, and proceeded with the brethren who accompanied him to the cottage of a poor man, at some distance, where he arrived at nightfall. This poor man had a wife and some young children, and so destitute were they, that they had hardly clothes to cover them. The holy abbot compassionating their poverty, next morning on going away gave them secretly his tunic, leaving it behind, as if he had forgotten it: the brethren soon perceived how much he was suffering from the cold, but he evaded their questions, by replying, that whatever quantity of clothes he wore, he could not warm himself. On leaving the cottage they supposed that he meant to return home, but he set his face again towards the castle, saying to them who demanded for what purpose he went there now, "Let us only go again in God's name, for the man will not be to-day as he was yesterday." So coming a second time to the castle, he found open all the gates, which had been closed on the previous day; and when the nobleman heard that the servant of God whom he had expelled the day before, was returning to him, he leaped from his bed, almost naked as he was, and with bare feet ran across the snow to meet him, and falling on his knees begged his forgiveness. Then ordering the hawk to be brought, he gave it to the holy man, who received it with great joy, and then departed, committing it to the care of a brother, and so returned home; and, truly, it was wonderful to see how the peace of a whole province depended on a bird. The hawk being brought to the viscount, no sooner flapped its wings in his hall, than peace was restored and confirmed, and thus the whole country was saved from pillage and extermination*."

* Vita B. Stephani Abbat. Obazinensis in Lemovicibus, lib. ii. c. 39, ap. Baluze, Miscellan. tom. i.

The abbots of the greater monasteries, by their elevated position, were often able to arrange political differences of the greatest magnitude. In the year 1386, Peter II., Abbot of Einsiedeln, surnamed the father of the poor, interposed himself between Austria and the people of Schwyz. Along with the Abbot of Wettingen, he used to be seen passing from side to side, as an Apostle of peace*. On the other hand, the fame of sanctity, and the fact of absolute separation from the world, were often more efficacious than any other influence. A letter from Dionysius, the Carthusian, to Arnold, Duke of Gueldre, and to his son, prevailed so much, that they abandoned their intention of making war against each other, and thus the country was preserved from immense calamities†. Solitary religious men, anachorets, came forth too, from time to time, as peace-makers. When the dissension arose between Philip Augustus and King Richard, a hermit, named Joachim, who lived in the mountains of Calabria, came from his retreat to make peace between them, and to invite the Paladins to penitence. "Speaking of Peter the Hermit," an ancient author says, "that he re-established, with a wondrous authority, peace and good understanding between husbands and wives, who had been disunited." In 1335, when King Robert, after the death of Frederic, prepared a fleet against Sicily, the hermit Henry wrote a long letter, to dissuade him—"I beseech you," he says, "do not despise the words of an old rude man, dwelling in the desert, since it is imposed on me to break forth thus to you. Successor to ancestral cruelty, pitiless king, impious, cruel king, what insane fury instigates you at your advanced age, when you are so near the terrible shore of death and judgment—you, who have passed so great a portion of your days in liberal studies, so studiously at intervals revolving the volumes, one time of saints, at another of philosophers, what madness, I say, moves you to irritate God, with the slaughter of innumerable Christians? Consider how all the empires and kingdoms of the world have been changed by Almighty God, and without looking beyond this one island of Sicily, how it has pleased Him to dispose all things according to his

* Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronic. 74.

† Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. lib. vii. 13.

pleasure, independent of the will of men. Recollect the wars and perturbations it has endured in times past, and how little the result has ever crowned the hopes of those who caused them. I beseech you, then, my brother, and my lord, in the glorious blood of Jesus Christ, to return to the Lord thy God, and to contemplate all things with the eye of equity, and not to seek to contend against Heaven, for it is not for us to know the times and the seasons ; but since you are evidently prepared to depart hence, seek not wars, nor seditions, nor hatreds, nor machinations, nor factions, nor quarrels, but this only with diligent care, that you may rest in peace, especially since there is removed from you the motive for that lust of reigning, which is accustomed to possess miserable parents, and make them desirous of propagating kingdoms for their children, and for their children's children ; since, without war or tumult, you perceive that the kingdom must needs pass to the collateral line *."

The rise of the mendicant orders was a memorable epoch in regard to the pacific ; for never before was there so prodigious an accession to their numbers furnished at one time ; and truly the city of God had never greater need of such services ; for that was the moment when the fairest portion of her pale on earth was rent with the most cruel civil discords. Whence did such bitterness arise ? " All that I can say as to the origin of these divisions," says one historian, " is, that Florence never heard the Tartarian names of Gibelline and Guelf, until the year 1215 †." Most of the wars at this time were either immediately, or indirectly, occasioned by the strife of opinions, indicated by these names. The enmity, for instance, between Pisa and Florence, had no other origin ‡. Without attempting to discuss the general question between them, which, however, is one of all ages, under various denominations, it is but justice to observe the difference of character, which, far more than the insignia of the eagle and lily, distinguished the opposite sides. Not without reason was the latter adopted by the

* Nicolai Specialis Hist. Sicula. lib. viii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. x.

† Stellæ Annal. Genuenses, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvii.

‡ Matt. Palmerii de Captivit. Pisarum, ap. id. xix.

Guelfs, for in general they were pacific men, making peace between others, and overcoming resistance to themselves, by moderation and gentleness*. They stood for the interests of the community, being for the Church: therefore, their cry in war was, as at Parma, in 1308, "Peace, peace, the people, the people!" and, in victory, "Live the people, and the Guelfs†!" "If a Guelf wishes to be a tyrant," says Matteo Villani, "he must first become a Gibelline." The Gibellines were men of immoral lives, like Ceresius Monticulus of Verona, who, in 1184, so basely assassinated Alexander, Count of St. Boniface, his uncle, not through any personal resentment, but merely because he was chief of the Guelfs. They were generally too the aggressors‡. Of the miseries attending these dissensions, the contemporary writers speak with horror and astonishment. Carpesanus observing, that the Brescians are the most factious of all mortals, says, that they convert innumerable things into party signs; the kind of cups used on the same table, herbs, trees, fruits, colours of clothes, modes of walking, of moving the fingers, are all there endued with a signification: which perversity of manners infects the citizens like the plague§.

Some that were fancifully inclined attempted to account for this assault of jarring discord by astrological causes. Thus one historian says, "If there be any excuse for the civil contests of the Genoese, perhaps it may be that the city had its beginning under the sign of the scorpion, in which Mars has his place. But I wish that the Supreme Ruler of the stars, who can change them as He pleases, may pacify this city with solid stability||." "Some say the cause of this misery," says another, "is the return of Saturn to Leo, and of Jove to Pisces. Alas! not the stars, but the minds of men are retrograde." The Gibellines, like all men of unsound faith, were superstitious. Astrologers were generally in their councils, and we read of a curious incident demonstrative of their disposition

* Weingartens. Monach. Hist. de Guelfis Princip. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.

† Chronic. Parmense, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

‡ Ricciardi Comit. S. Bon. Vita, ap. id. tom. viii.

§ Comment. suorum Temporum, lib. v. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. x.

|| Stellæ Annales Genuens. lib. iii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvii.

to seek in its vain promises a remedy for their woes. Let us hear the old chronicle which relates it. " Guido Bonatto, who belonged to the Gibelline party, was a great astrologer of Forli, in the time of the magnanimous Count Guido de Montefeltro, captain of Forli, where he had his habitation, being prince of the Gibelline party under the Roman emperors ; and he used the counsel of this astrologer in all his actions, so that many persons ascribed his victories over the citizens of Bologna, Ravenna, the Malatestas, and others, to the advice given him by this Guido, though he was held by the vulgar as a visionary. Master Benevenuto of Imola, in his commentary on the twentieth chapter of Dante, says, that he had seen him. This Guido Bonatto was regarded as one of the first astrologers of the world, so that in Paris, and wherever such studies were in vogue, he was held to be second after Ptolemy. In Forli, while the parties of Gibelline and Guelph raged most furiously, he sought to annul them, and to unite the citizens into one ; for which purpose he persuaded the people to begin building the walls of the city at a moment when the planets were so favourable that if both parties would then concur in laying the foundation, placing one stone for each citizen of each party, at the instant he prescribed, in future ever after there would be no divisions amongst them : all which they consented to do ; and then choosing a citizen for each party, they all stood expecting the sign from Lord Guido, each citizen having a stone in his hand, while the workmen stood below with lime and all things prepared. As soon as the sign was made, the Gibelline threw his stone, but the Guelph hesitated : upon which Guido exclaimed, ' May God destroy you with your Guelph party, and assuredly He will for your malignity, for this sign will not appear again in the heavens these five hundred years to come.' And sure enough the said party was subdued : but praised be God, who has reduced these parties now to such close union and benevolence, that no one any longer hears the name of separation in our state. While speaking of this man, it will not displease me to relate what I heard from my father in his old age, which he heard from the Lord James Moratino, his father, when very old, who learned it from a certain wise neighbour, who knew intimately the said Lord Guido." Then after mentioning many instances of

his diabolical art, which came to light through the repentance of persons who had consulted him, and who were obliged by their confessors to renounce what they had gained by his means, he says, that "the said Lord Guido, by his science, caused many escapes and many disasters among enemies; for that when he knew the time was fitting, he used to mount up into the belfry, which is over the great square, carrying with him his astrolabe and his book of magic, diligently observing the time, and when the point arrived, he used to toll the great bell to call them to arms *."

But enough of this. I only sought to remind my reader of the distractions which he is now to see appeased by messengers of grace, who knew what was for them the true and only remedy. One symptom, however, in those times was favourable. Petrus Cynæus noticed it among the Corsicans, who, though prone to excite domestic seditions, yet, as he says, were generally inclined to love those who endeavour to make peace †. This was certainly characteristic of all nations during the middle ages. The poet dearest to the English tells them that "a whole city is much bound to the reverend holy friar who reconciles foes, and makes peace in houses ‡:" that is, in short, no unimportant fact, which now would pass unnoticed, the office of a peace-maker was recognized in common life, and appreciated in the light of faith. Truly it was known and worshipped. The world stood mute to hear the seraph of Assisi and his fit colleague. If we attend to the effects which followed the preaching of the two great families which sprung from them, we might suppose that the sole object of their mission was to re-establish peace. "Into whatever house the friar minors enter," says their father, "let them first say, 'Peace be to this house;' and let their first salutation be always, 'Peace be with you.'" St. Francis used to begin all his discourses by saluting the people in these words, "Dominus det vobis pacem," as if that were the supreme good. "He passed amid the strife of man, and stood at the throne of armed power, pleading

* Annales Forolivienses, ap. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. xxii.

† De Rebus Corsicis, ap. Mur. *Rer. It. Script.* tom. xxiv.

‡ Romeo and Jul.

for a world of woe; secure as one on a rock-built tower o'er the wrecks which the surge trails to and fro. Amid the wild passions of human kind he stood like a spirit calming them, for his words could bind, like music, the lulled crowd, and stem that torrent of unquiet dream which mortals deem justice and reason, but is revenge, and fear, and pride. Joyous he was; and hope and peace abode on all who heard him, raining, like dew, from his sweet talk." His very gestures touched to tears the unpersuaded tyrant never before so moved. Entering Sienna, most of the noblemen with the people came out to meet him, and conducted him to the bishop's palace. The city at that time was troubled by a sedition, but he by his sermons succeeded in reconciling them all with one another before he departed. Bitter discussions had arisen between the Bishop of Assisi and the magistrates of the city. The prelate had excommunicated them, while they, on the other hand, prevented all communication with him. We heard in a former book how St. Francis sent his friars to sing in their presence, and how they were on the spot, as if miraculously, reconciled. The strophe which he added on this occasion to his chaunt on the sun was as follows: "Praised be my Lord in those who pardon and bear suffering and tribulation for His love. Happy those who persevere in peace, for they shall be crowned by the Most High." The souls of the hearers by a secret virtue were melted into love: they mutually asked forgiveness, and embraced with delicious tears*. The incidental notices of the pacific labours of the friars abounding in the Italian chronicles are sufficiently significative of their success. Thus in one we read. "In 1233 peace was made in Parma by brother Gerard, of Modena, and all exiled persons were pardoned, and brother Cornetus came to the city, and all went after him with branches of trees and lighted candles, saying, 'Blessed be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost †.'" In another—"In 1233 there was made peace in Modena by the mediation of brother Gerard, of the order of minors, and free pardon granted to all, with the exception of five persons, who for whatever cause had been

* Acta S. Oct. tom. ii. p. 1002.

† Chronic. Parmense, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

banished by the government. In that year there were many sermons preached *." In another—"In 1323, by the mediation of brother Paulinus, of the order of minors, peace was concluded at Padua between those within and those without the city. This friar went then with the ambassadors of Padua to the Duke of Carinthia, to have the peace confirmed by him. On the news of his death coming to Padua, there was a great festival, and masses were solemnly celebrated †." In another—"In 1233 the Lord Albert de Fontana and the knights of Placentia on one side, and the Lord William de Andito with the people on the other, commissioned brother Leo, of the order of minors, to heal their discords. Then the said friar, in the square before the great church, made twenty of the knights and twenty of the people kiss each other, and then he gave sentence that the knights should have half of the honours of the city, and the people the other half ‡." Machiavel, too, relates, that when the two parties of the nobles and people were ranged in order of battle in the squares of Florence, and about to come to action, some friars advanced, interposed between them, and by force of moving eloquence, while boldly reminding both of their respective faults, succeeded in preventing the deadly engagement from taking place §. When we open the annals of these orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans we find events of this kind related in detail, and the incidents are so affecting, often so poetical and dramatic, that July days seem short as December while we are turning over pages of the ponderous volumes. At the preaching of St. Bernardine of Sienna, inveterate enemies might be seen embracing each other at Vicenza, Bologna, Milan, Rome, and Perugia. At Sienna he made friends the families of Thomas de Regazani with the house of Thomasina, John Guido with the families of Benincasa and Piceolomini, the men of Monte Ursali with the Brachini, who for many years before could not be satiated with each other's blood. Bernardine made all these men friends ||. At Perugia there existed a

* Annal. Veteres Mutinensium, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

† Hist. Cortusiorum de Novit. Paduæ, lib. iii. 2, ap. id. t. xii.

‡ Chronic. Placentinum, ap. id. tom. xvi.

§ Hist. of Florence, ii.

|| Wadding, Annal. Minorum tom. ix.

deadly feud between the citizens. St. Bernardine exhorted them to mutual peace, saying, "The Lord God seeing your dissensions, which he hateth, hath sent me as His angel to you, that I should announce on earth peace to men of good will." At the end of his fourth sermon he spoke thus: "Let as many of you as possess this good will and desire to live at peace with your neighbour pass to the right hand, and let the others who are unwilling to obey this invitation move to the left." Then all the people who had been on his left hand rose up, and went to the right, with the exception of one young nobleman, who remained with his servants on the left, muttering imprecations against the man of God. Then Bernardine said, "Lo! you stand there alone, despising what has been said to the people. A second time I invite you, in the name of God, to remit to your neighbours whatever trespasses they may have committed against you, and to pass to the right; but if you refuse, be assured that you will not return to your home alive." Still he refused, and derided the prophecy: but, lo! as he stepped over the threshold of his own house, little heeding the Divine anger, he fell dead*. In 1419, Bernardine preached in an open field during fifteen days to make peace between the Trivillians and the Caravagiani, who were at war, and from the happy result this spot between the two towns is called the field of peace to this day. In the church of Trivelli is shown a tablet, with the name of Jesus in gold letters, which was then painted at his suggestion†. The city of Aquilani had been torn with dissensions: the people and the nobles were at war, and a few days previous seven men had been slain, but at the funeral of St. Bernardine harmony and union were restored. All became friends at that solemnity, as if the holy man who had so often made peace while living had power to impart it even in death. It seemed as if he had come to die in the midst of this people, in order to reconcile them‡. Wadding, who relates that it was brother Sylvester who put an end to the intestine wars of the city of Como, omits many details respecting him which are found in the profane histories of the time. In one of them we read as follows: "On the 13th of January, in 1440, this brother

* Id. tom. x.

† Tom. xi.

‡ Tom. xi.

Sylvester, of Sienna, began to preach in Placentia against factions and cursed parties, and took for his theme the words ‘*Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam. Tollite jugum meum, quoniam suave est.*’ And on the 18th of the same month seven notable men, doctors of law and of medicine, were elected in order to abolish the said parties, and establish a holy union. On the 22nd, which was the feast of St. Vincent, certain statutes were published by these men, and approved of by the people; and the same day as many as eight thousand of the people swore to observe them before the Lords Vincent de Vegiis, the ducal vicar, and the captain of the citadel, in presence of brother Sylvester and others. And they swore upon this memorable sentence, which appeared written in the beginning of the book: ‘*Et viri eorum interficiantur morte, et juvenes eorum confodiantur gladio.*’ On the 25th, which was the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, there was made a solemn procession, and on the following Sunday, the 29th, there was concluded in the great church an instrument of holy union, abridged by John de Ronchovetero. On the 5th of February, the feast of the holy virgin and martyr Agatha, the said brother Sylvester made his testament, in which he constituted the people of Placentia his heirs, and dismissed them rich, that is, well instructed, and well trained, and well furnished in all doctrine and discipline into one body, reformed and reduced to peace and concord. He made all the boys, women, and men in separate divisions embrace and kiss each other, which they did weeping for joy. He restored peace to those who had committed homicide, preaching and declaring the epistle of Paul to the Colossians—‘*Induite vos sicut electi Dei, sancti, et dilecti, viscera misericordiæ, pietatem, modestiam,*’ and the rest to the end. On the 8th of February, ambassadors from Placentia proceeded to Milan to have the statutes of the holy union confirmed, and on the following day brother Sylvester left Placentia, and went to Cremona, that he might establish a holy union there also *.”

Let us return to the annals of the order. In 1471 brother Fortunatus, of Perugia, made peace between

* Ant. de Ripalta, *Annales Placentini*, ap. Muratori *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. xx.

Florence and Sienna. In 1486, at Perugia, on the feast of St. Antony of Padua, after the sermon, when St. Bernardine, of Monte Feltro, was sitting at table to refresh his strength, lo ! a sudden noise and tumult arose, caused by the two most powerful armed factions of the Peneschi and the Staffeschi combating in the forum. Seizing a cross, he rushed into the midst, and had such authority that he made them desist. Though forty were wounded, and all breathed slaughter, nevertheless they obeyed the man of God, and retired each to his own home. Soon after, the Ballioni and Oddesci came to join in the fray; but these also he repressed, and led the chiefs of all the parties into the adjoining church of St. Lorenzo, where, by the intervention of the bishop, he appeased their mutual anger, and established peace*.

In 1487, coming to Tuderta, he found the citizens divided into two factions, and brought them to peace by his sermons and pious exhortations. Then united in one body he prevailed on them to suffer whatever laws their bishop thought necessary. About to depart before Septuagesima Sunday, he unfurled in the public square the standard which he had prepared secretly, in which Christ flagellated was painted with arms extended over the city; the citizens divided in two parties, were represented on their knees, with eyes raised up to Christ, exclaiming, "*Pars mea Deus est,*" to whom the Saviour replies, "*Et ego ero vester si vos mei fueritis.*" At the end of the sermon he uttered with great fervour, the words, "*pacem meam relinquo vobis.*" Then exhorting them all to preserve that peace, he desired them to make two similar standards, and to place one in the cathedral, and the other in the Church of St. Fortunatus, while the third was to be suspended in the town hall, to be a perpetual testimony and exhortation to peace. Descending from the pulpit, all received him with tears and great cries, exclaiming, "*Peace, peace!*" After some interval returning to Tuderta, he found the seeds of dissension still lingering: these he laboured to destroy. At length, having established sixteen articles of solid peace, he ordained a general procession round the city, and taking up the said standard, he was followed by all the people carrying branches of olive. This solemn and salutary

day was diligently noted in the annals of the city; and in the senatorial palaces the image of Bernardine was sculptured.

Ravenna, in 1491, was divided into armed factions, daily he spoke against them, and by a divine power softened hard hearts. Many who had been deadly enemies for many years, were made friends; and these persons, to serve an example to others, used to rise up in the midst of his sermon to kiss and embrace each other in sight of all. The magistrates co-operated with him, and used to inquire who were at enmity. They would then send each of the parties successively to Bernardine, and both having heard the preacher, were eventually reconciled. There was one old man, who for many years could not be induced to forgive the slayer of his only son, a hopeful youth, though many of the chief citizens had interposed. At length, a certain man, named Papiniano, prevailed on him after two or three attempts to go with him and hear Bernardine, who offered himself in place of his dead son. All who were present wept, knowing the inflexibility of the old man. But like the rest who came, he was vanquished, from a mortal foe becoming a man of peace, so that ever after when he heard of others being at enmity, he would lead them to Bernardine with Papiniano, the author of his own peace. Amongst others he led two heads of factions of Valle Lamone, who, for many years, had been continually at war. "One more severe than the other, and of more rigid nature," said roughly, "that for eternity he would not relent;" and to Bernardine persuading peace, replied, "I cannot; one hundred years we are at war: my enemy has shed much of our blood, they slew my relations. Do you ask me to spare them? I will not. You lose your time." Still Bernardine persevered, describing the misery of enmity and the advantage of peace, while the old man continued saying, "If I lost my only son by treason, yet, for the love of God and of this holy man, I spared and forgave his murderer, and have laid aside all anger; and do you resist still on account of your relation's blood?" At length, the Holy Ghost inspiring, he too felt himself softened: the reconciliation was soon effected. Rushing into each other's arms, they embraced and filled all the beholders with wonder and admiration. "The Lord hath sent his angel to us,"

they exclaimed, "who hath restored peace to the city, and concord to us all *."

At Brescia Bernardine saved the city from imminent ruin; for the discord running high in the great council, at the second hour of the night, the gates being closed, early in the morning, he preached on the miseries of civil war and sedition, with such effect that he recalled to union and peace the Avogradi and the Martinengi, who were ready armed, and about to meet in the intestine shock, and furious close of civil butchery †. This man, in sooth, did wonders: but many of the same order were alike successful. In the kingdom of Naples, all the villages which are in the circuit of Monte Corvino were at such enmity, that they had long made war against each other, like wild beasts, sparing neither sex nor condition. In 1524, a certain pious Franciscan, eminent for preaching, went to them, and laboured so effectually, that he reunited them all in friendship, and then, in common, they built the church of St. Mary of peace, to which they added a convent for friars of his order ‡. We should observe, that Minor friars, or Dominicans, were repeatedly chosen to be the instruments of effecting peace, when the holy see intervened. Thus, in 1331, Gerard, the minister general of the Minors, was sent by the pope along with brother Arnold, the Dominican, to pacify Edward, King of England, and David, King of Scotland, who were hastening to the arbitrement of swords, and preparing for each other a heavy reckoning against the great accompting day §. In 1351, the Venetians and Genoese were at cruel war: the Euxine beheld repeatedly their terrible conflicts. Peter, King of Arragon, and the emperor of Constantinople, came to the assistance of the former; John Visconti, of Milan, sided with the latter; Pope Clement VI. sent brother Fortanerius Vassallus, a Minor friar, as pacificator between them ||. In 1366, brother John, another Minor, was sent by Pope Urban V. to make peace between the Emperor Charles IV. and Lewis, King of Hungary. Angelo de Bibiena and Thomas Fiechio were also employed as pacificators by Pope Gregory IX. As rival princes, when blood is their argument, can seldom meet without adding fresh fuel to.

* Id. vol. xiv.

† Id. tom. xv.

‡ Id. tom. xvi.

§ Id. tom. vii.

|| Id. viii.

the fire of malice, personal interviews between them were generally condemned as by the wise Philip de Comines, and they were advised to communicate together through meek religious men *. Friars were therefore chosen for this purpose, who never failed through want of zeal. But without bearing such authority, those whom the cord girt humbly are found every where making peace. Thus in 1336 they reconcile the Kings of Castille and of Arragon†. In 1362, brother Mark, of Viterbo, minister general, pacified many princes of Italy; a true angel of peace was he, soothing all discordant hearts with admirable skill and incredible facility. Thus he made peace between Amadaeus, Count of Savoy, and John, Marquis of Montferrat, between the same Marquis and Galeazzo Visconti, and between the Florentines and Pisans. Brother Mark was most active in endeavouring to repress the horrors of the English bands, which came into Italy at the termination of the war between England and France. Again, in 1371, Thomas, the minister general, made peace between the Genoese and the Count of Flisco; and repressed also the hostilities of the former against Cyprus‡. The pacific labours of the Minors are sometimes attested on their tombs. Thus, on that of Friar Paul, of Padua, celebrated for his power and success as a pacificator—who lies buried near the gate of the cloister, at the Franciscans, in that city—you read, under the date of 1323—

“Dulcibus eloquiis, cui persuadere quietem
Civibus et patriæ sedula cura fuit.
Pacifer hic Patavæ sedavit scandala terræ,
Exulibus patrios restituitque lares §.”

On that of the blessed Guido de Spathis, in the convent of the Minors at Bologna, you read—

“Auctor ubique pacis, linguæ sanctissimæ facis:
Tu montium colles, contristi novissima valles,
Discordes placans, guerrarumque odia sedans.”

The venerable branch of the seraphic order, which is known by the title of Capuchins, did not belie its origin, when there was occasion to make peace. The manner in which Bernardine, General of the Capuchins, composed

* Le Conseiller d'Estat, 1645.

† Id. vii.

‡ Id. viii.

§ Wadding, tom. vii.

the troubles of Palermo in 1536, seemed divine to all who witnessed it *.

John of Fano, after passing to this order, was another eminent pacificator. He found Burgo San Sepulcro in the midst of tumults and dissensions, and by his sermons he made all the inhabitants friends †. Brother Mariano of Nebia was another angel of peace under the same hood, the scene of whose ministry was the island of Corsica, the ferocious inhabitants of which, he tamed and composed to all offices of love and friendship ‡. Petrus Tudertinus, a Capuchin, possessed such a grace from God, in composing dissensions, that there was no one who could resist his pacific influence. Many rival houses which had been at war for generations, were by his efforts reconciled to each other, and factions which had disturbed the public tranquillity wholly suppressed §. Brother Antonius of Cordova, a Minim, revered by the people as a saint, was so successful in reconciling enemies, that he used to be called by the bishop and nobles of that city, *instrumentum pacis* ||. In short, each member of that humble order, lived but to inspire charity, and ever in his right hand carried gentle peace. But it is time that we should turn to the Dominicans, that second great family of the mendicants, who were devoted to the blessed work of reconciliation. Truly it would be long to tell of the labours for this end, of Gilles de Sant Irene, John the Teutonic, the third general of the order, Blessed Bartholomew de Braganza, Constantine de Medicis, James Boncambio, James Crescenti, whose mission was in Poland and Russia, Thomas de Berta, who laboured in Sienna, Peter de St. Astier triumphant at Perigueux, Humbert de Romans at the university of Paris, Aldobrandi at Orvietta, Morandi de Signia, and he who afterwards governed the church as Innocent V. ¶ Who could worthily describe the fruits of peace which followed the steps of a friar Lawrence of England, of a St. Vincent Ferrier, who never left a town or village without having chased from it the demon of discord, and re-established order, peace, and harmony; who passed as

* Annales Capucinatorum, an. 1536.

† Id. 1539.

‡ Id. 1540.

§ Id. 1540.

|| Chronic. Minimorum, an. 1591.

¶ Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. i.

an angel of peace through Spain and France, Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, England, Ireland, and Scotland, where Henry IV. then reigned, of a Lewis of Valladolid, Confessor of John II. King of Castille, of a blessed Peter of Palermo, or of him who afterwards became Pope Benedict XI. a man who seemed to have lived only to preach peace, and to have obtained power only to make it reign, or of a Raymond of Capua, twenty-third general of the order, or of an Andrew de Franchis, afterwards Bishop of Pistoia, or of a Paul Justiniani, who reconciles so wondrously the two great hostile families of Genoa, the Assereti and the Imperiali, or of a Decius Justiniani, afterwards Bishop of Aleria, to whom the canons of his cathedral bore this testimony, inscribed upon his tomb,

“ In componendis odiis Corsicæ miraculum ;”

or of an Ambrose of Sienna, or of a Cardinal Latin Malebranche, of the Frangepani family, legate of the Pope, who persuaded the Florentine Guelphs to restore the banished Ghibellines, to their country and property in 1278, on the place of Santa Maria Novella, reversing all decrees against them, and causing marriages to be contracted between them, so that he was ever afterwards styled the Prince of Peace, or of St. Augustin de Gazothes, or of Odon de la Sale, afterwards Archbishop of Pisa, or of Berenger de Landon, who became Archbishop of Compostella, and who died in discharging the office of mediator, or of Bernard Guido, or of an Angelo of Perugia, that true angel of peace to Florence, or of a Simon Salterelli, nuncio of Clement V., or of a blessed Ventura of Bergamo, who conceived and realized the idea of terminating the dissensions of a whole people by a pilgrimage? Ten thousand Lombards assuming the cross for their standard, and for motto three words, “ Peace, Penance, Mercy,” clad all in white, having on one side of their habit a cross, and on the other a dove, with an olive branch, followed this friar to Rome, where, at his suggestion, laying aside their arms, they sealed their peace before the tomb of St. Peter. On this occasion, the warriors were accompanied by their wives and daughter, and even their children. It is remarked by historians that this new inspiration of love had restored

the multitude to harmony with all nature, and that the spectacle of the beautiful regions through which they passed, gave them a taste for joys, of which, while hatred and vengeance filled their breasts, they could have had no conception. The secular historians of the middle ages abound with testimonies to the labour of these friars, many of whom, however, they only knew or saw as it were in passing. Thus one chronicler merely says, that in 1429, when the citizens of Liege were greatly divided, Raphael, a certain preacher from Spain, came there, and by preaching and works recalled many from contention and other sins to peace *. Of the most eminent, however, they speak at sufficient length. Thus in 1299 they relate how brother Angelo of Faventia, prior of the Dominicans, with Octolino de Mandello, made concord and peace between the government of Bologna and those of the province of Romagna, who held the party of the Lambertazzi, who were without the city; and how in consequence of this treaty, the merchants thenceforth travelled through the whole province safely and secure, without any impediment †.

Let us hear one of their narratives. The city of Bologna was stained with blood by the quarrels of the Jeremies and the Lambertazzis. A member of the former house, in love with the young Imelda Lambertazzi, had been assassinated by her brothers in her presence. After seeing him fall at her feet, she stretched herself upon the corpse and sucked the wounds, which were infected with so deadly a poison from the poignards, that she expired in a few minutes. After this tragedy, the two families were bent upon pursuing each other with redoubled fury: nevertheless, brother Latino, a Dominican, overcame their thirst for vengeance, and succeeded in reconciling them in the bonds of a lasting peace. But let us now hasten to the plain of Paguara, where an immense multitude from the marshes of Treviso and from Lombardy, is assembled at the voice of brother John de Scledo of Vicenza, of whom the ancient historians speak as follows. “Friar John, of the order of preachers, was the son of Manelini, a lawyer of Vicenza. Since the time of our Lord Jesus

* Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet.

† Annales Forolivienses, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxii.

Christ, there never were such multitudes gathered together in his name, as were assembled to hear this friar preach peace. He came first to Padua and made peace there; then he went to Treviso and did the same, as also with the Feltrini and the Bellunenses. Then he brought peace to the lords of Camino, Conegliano, and Romana. In like manner the citizens of Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, and Brescia, were restored to concord by his means. He had such power over all minds, that every where he was permitted to arrange the terms of peace. Through reverence for him, the greatest part of the multitude used to hear him with bare feet. Many who had been mortal enemies, moved by his preaching, of their own accord, embraced and gave each other the kiss of peace*. On arriving at Verona, he found the Guelphs of that city disposed for peace, and he produced an effect even on the opposite party. He spoke of peace with such eloquence in the forum, that Eccelino himself, who surpassed in ferocity all men of his time, was moved to tears, and to promise that he would agree to whatever the arbiters should determine between him and Ricciar-dus, Count of St. Boniface†.

At Bologna, he persuaded the citizens to renounce all party spirit and animosity, and to adopt a mode of saluting one another mutually in the name of Jesus Christ, which usage passed into other cities of Lombardy, and finally into all the Italian provinces. The establishment of a general peace by this blessed friar, and the union of such multitudes who accepted it in the bonds of the charity of Christ, are described by contemporary authors as giving rise to a scene unparalleled in the history of the Church. "In 1233," says one of them, "brother John Scledo came into the marshes of Padua from the region of Bologna, and made many sermons in the city and through the marshes, and God was with him. This just man had always before his eyes, the authority which saith, 'beati pedes portantes pacem;' he wished to make peace between them and the nobles of Lombardy, and those of the marshes and Romagna. Having called all the princes of the marshes into the meadow of the vale at Padua, he

* Gerardi Maurisii Historia ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

† Ricciardi Comit. S. Bon. Vita ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

made a solemn sermon, and ordained that in the ensuing month of August they should meet in the campagna of Verona near the river Alace, which was done. Thither came the barons, rectors, magistrates, and such a multitude of people, that I believe the like had never been seen before in Lombardy; and the friar stood on a wooden stand sixty cubits high, constructed for the purpose at a spot called Paquara, on the river side about four miles from Verona; and there he proposed that authority, ‘*Pacem meam do vobis; pacem relinquo vobis;*’ and then he preached authoritatively peace to all the Lombards, and to all Italy: and he added warnings and denunciations against any who should dare in future to interrupt that blessed peace. Similarly he established peace at Vicenza, and Feltro, and at other places*.” The treaty between the Guelphs and Gibellines, which was drawn up on this occasion by brother John, may be seen at length in the great work of Muratori†, where it stands like a monument, to prove the truth of what the poet says, that

“Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.”

Let it be remembered, however, in conclusion, that the mendicant orders in these glorious deeds only revived the examples of more ancient times. The holy see had always laboured to cause associations for a pacific end, and to inspire the nations with a love of peace. One of the constitutions of Othobono, Legate of the Pope in England, in the reign of Henry III., commanded that throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland every year, on the day after the octave of Pentecost, there should be a public and solemn procession, in which all the faithful were to return thanks to God for the tranquillity which had been restored to them, and to pray devoutly for the permanence of peace and concord‡. With supplications of this kind our present book almost commenced. I rejoice to meet with this procession of our ancestors, to bring it thus solemnly and impressively to an end.

Such then were some of the labours of the blessed

* Chronic. Rolandini, c. 7. ap. Græv. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. tom. vi.

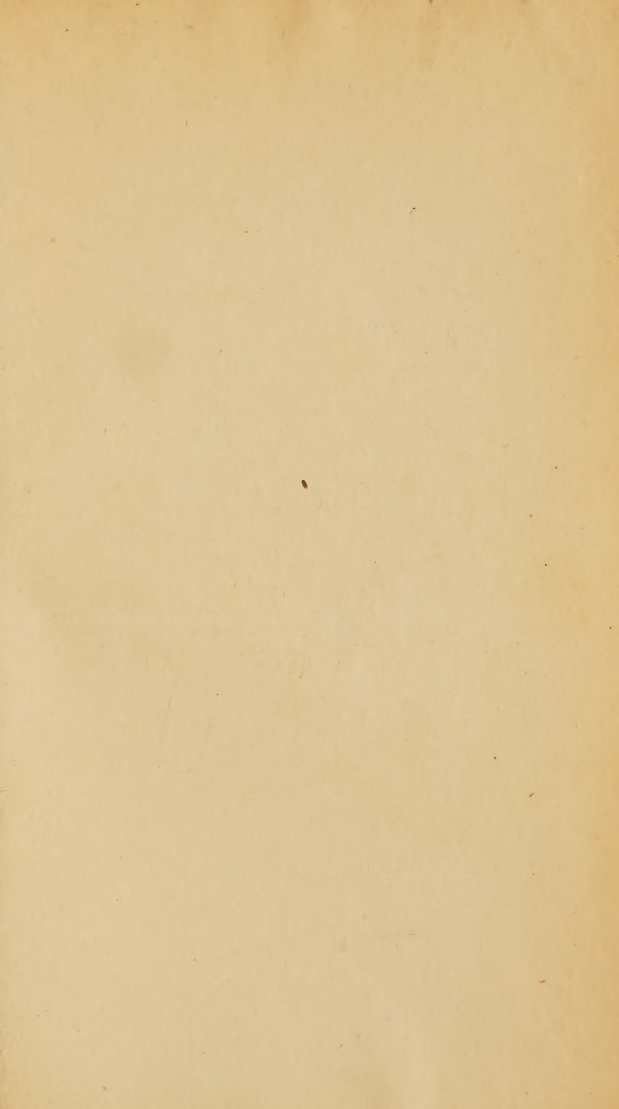
† Antiq. Ital. iv. p. 1171.

‡ Lyndwood, Constitutiones Angliæ.

peace-makers during ages of faith, conducing to that mirth which is in heaven, when earthly things made even attone together: fulfilling, as an ancient author says, the words of Isaiah, "that the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and that a child should lead them." Such were their vows, and so were they repaid.

The monks and friars have conducted us to the threshold of those true asylums of peace, of which in the beginning, I said that we should speak, where souls through powers that faith bestowed won rest, and ease, and peace, with bliss that angels shared. Our course tends right unto the summit. On to the Abbey! as the poet says. Already we have met the men who come from it, whose strains still sound to us like the sweet south that breathes upon a bank of violets: but no more yet of this; for 'tis a chronicle of day by day, not a relation for a visit, nor befitting this late meeting. Here will we repose, and wait till the morn, in golden mantle clad, shall walk o'er the dew of yon bright eastern hill. So that, gentle reader, with respect to the peace enjoyed and imparted during faithful ages, half yet remains unsaid.

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